

THE HISTORY OF THE JAZĪRA 1100 - 1150:

THE CONTRIBUTION OF

IBN AL-AZRAQ AL-FĀRIQĪ

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CHAPTER VI

TRANSLATION OF MS.A OF

TĀRĪKH MAYYĀFĀRIQĪN WA ĀMID

TĀRĪKH MAYYĀFĀRIQĪN WA ĀMID¹

TRANSLATION OF MS.A

(f.160b) The account of the government and rule of Najm al-Dīn
īl-Ghāzī in Mayyāfāriqīn^{2 3}

It is reported that when Ibn Jahīr⁴ conquered Diyār Bakr, Amīr Artuq⁵ was with him. When Ibn Jahīr became established and no longer required the services of Artuq, Artuq broke away from him. When Malik-Shāh came, Artuq went to Syria and took possession of Jerusalem and the surrounding area.^{6 7} He lived on the Sāhil⁸ and died there. His sons, the amīrs Sukmān and Najm al-Dīn īl-Ghāzī, ruled Jerusalem after him for a time.⁹

Then Najm al-Dīn īl-Ghāzī went to Sultan Muhammad and remained in his service. Muhammad granted him the iqtā'^{10 11} of Hulwān for a while. Then Sultan Muhammad made him shihna¹² in Iraq and īl-Ghāzī lived in Baghdad. After the Franks took the Sāhil¹³ and Jerusalem, Sukmān came to this country and took possession of Hīsn Kaifā.^{14 15} Amir al-Yāqūtī¹⁶ had (already) taken possession of Mārdīn.¹⁷ When Najm al-Dīn īl-Ghāzī came to this country al-Yāqūtī had died.¹⁸ īl-Ghāzī had been there under the suzerainty of al-Yāqūtī. (Thereafter) he became subordinate to Sukmān of Hīsn Kaifā. īl-Ghāzī remained in Mārdīn and took possession of it.¹⁹ He remained there until 498 when it is reported that Amīr Sukmān died.²⁰

Sukmān's son, Amīr Ibrāhīm b. Sukmān, ruled after him.²¹ Ibrāhīm contacted Shams in Mārdīn and took as a hostage a son of his who

remained with him in Ḥiṣn Kaifā for a while. Then the news reached Shams that Ibrāhīm had insulted his son and imprisoned him. So when Najm al-Dīn Ḥl-Ghāzī came (back again) Shams surrendered Mārdīn to Najm al-Dīn.

After a while Amir Ibrāhīm died in Ḥiṣn Kaifā. His brother, Amir Dā'ūd, took over his position after him.²⁵ He remained for a while and Amir Shams and Mārdīn were in his hands. He did not surrender the city to anyone. Then Najm al-Dīn Ḥl-Ghāzī came and he surrendered it to him in the year 507. So it came to Ḥl-Ghāzī and his descendants from that day (f.161a) until now.²⁶

As for Amir Shams, he was the father of Amir Sonqur who was the father of Yūsuf who himself was the father of Rasūl. It is reported that Najm al-Dīn Ḥl-Ghāzī took possession of Mārdīn in the years 507 or 508 remaining there until the year 512.²⁷²⁸

Then he contacted the sultan saying that Mayyāfāriqīn was going to rack and ruin and was in decline, whilst previously it had been a city without peer.²⁹³⁰ The sultan got in touch with Ilduz Beg³¹ ordering him to hand over Mayyāfāriqīn to Najm al-Dīn Ḥl-Ghāzī. So when Ḥl-Ghāzī arrived, Ilduz Beg handed it over to him. He entered the city on 14 Jumādā II 512.³² Ilduz Beg left and took up residence in al-Rawābī³³ where he stayed for three days. On the fourth day, a messenger came in haste to him from the sultan, ordering him not to surrender the city,³⁴ but he found it was already too late. Najm al-Dīn became established in Mayyāfāriqīn and he showed justice and kindness to the inhabitants.³⁵ He removed from them the athqāl³⁶ and the aqṣāt³⁷ and the anzāl³⁸ for the people were

in great distress because of the nuzl.

Most of the city was ruined because of constant changes of régime and overlord. Those who conquered them treated them unjustly and tyrannised them and mulcted them because they knew that they themselves would not endure and their rule would not last. From the moment Najm al-Dīn Ḥl-Ghāzī took power, he became established, their hearts became calm and the people became secure in their homes.

It happened that the soldiers who had no homes came down into the city and set up tents in the ruins of the city because most of the city was ruined and the roads were terrorised by robbers and highwaymen, to such an extent that a caravan could go to Āmid only if it was escorted by a shihna and cavalry. It was the same to Arzan, Ḥiṣn Kaifā, Ḥānī and Mārdīn, for an escort was needed to guard the caravan even for a short distance because of the devastation of the towns and villages. From the moment Najm al-Dīn assumed power, the roads and the countryside became safe. The robbers fled and the villages flourished. Mayyāfāriqīn began to prosper and he ruled the people very well.

He remained until the year 513 when he took possession of Aleppo and fought the Franks, inflicting a decisive defeat on them, plundering their possessions and taking a great number of them prisoner. This was the defeat at al-Balāt. As for Aleppo, he took it from Sultan-Shāh b. al-Malik Ridwān who had taken it from (another) son of Ridwān.

It is reported that in 513 the Friday mosque at Āmid was burned.

In 514 Najm al-Dīn took Nasībīn.⁴⁸ Qadi^c Alam al-Dīn b. Nubāta⁴⁹ and a group of the inhabitants of Mayyāfāriqīn went and met him there and congratulated him on his conquest of the city. He put ceremonial garments on them and treated them well, and they returned to Mayyāfāriqīn.

It is reported that in 515,⁵⁰ the population of Tiflīs got in touch with Najm al-Dīn Īl-Ghāzī⁵¹ asking him to come so that they might hand over Tiflīs to him. The inhabitants had run the administration by themselves for forty years.⁵² A family from amongst its inhabitants, called the Banū Ja'far,⁵³ had ruled the city for about two hundred years. When their leaders finally died out, the administration of the city reverted (f.161b) to its citizens. Every month one of them would take over the administration. This situation had prevailed for forty years.⁵⁴

King Dā'ūd,⁵⁵ King of the Abkhāz and the Gurj,⁵⁶ had oppressed the city sorely and it had declined, (so) they had got in contact with Sultan Toghrīl Beg,⁵⁷ son of Sultan Muhammad, who was ruler of Ganja⁵⁸ and Arrān⁵⁹ and he sent a shihna to them. But the tyranny of the king of the Gurj towards them increased.⁶⁰ They carried on in this way for a while and agreed to pay him 10,000 dīnārs every year. They also agreed to have a shihna with (only) ten horsemen. After continuing like that for a while, they approached Najm al-Dīn Īl-Ghāzī⁶¹ and asked him to come. He set out accompanied by a large number of troops and Dubais b. Šadaqa,⁶² lord of the Arabs. This man was the son-in-law of Najm al-Dīn, being married to his daughter Guhar Khatun, and had joined him that year. Najm al-Dīn

took troops with him, and having contacted Shams al-Daula Toghan Arslān, lord of Arzan and Bitlīs,⁶³ to whom the city of Dvīn also belonged,⁶⁴ he ordered the latter to enter Tiflīs from the eastern side. When Najm al-Dīn left he (also) took with him Qadi ^CAlam al-Dīn b. Nubāta and his son, Qadi ^CAlam al-Dīn Abu 'l-Fath al-Kabīr, who is now qādī of Mārdīn; and the vizier Abū Tammām b. ^CAbdūn also went with him. When they arrived in Erzerum the qādī and the vizier stayed behind there.⁶⁵

Najm al-Dīn entered Georgiawith his troops by way of the province of Kars and Tharyālīth.⁶⁶ They had agreed that all the troops should assemble before Tiflīs.⁶⁷ Sultan Toghrīl Beg made his dispositions on the Ganja side and Toghan Arslan al-Ahdab marched from Dvīn. Najm al-Dīn advanced until he was only a half-day's journey away from the mountain near Tiflīs. King Dā'ūd, accompanied by his son Dīmītrī,⁶⁸ sallied forth from the western side with a large number of troops. He swooped down on them from the mountain while they were at the bottom of it. The troops of Sultan Toghrīl Beg had not come, nor had Shams al-Daula al-Ahdab with his men. They engaged in a mighty battle, and Najm al-Dīn was defeated.⁶⁹ The infidels killed a large number of his men and seized much plunder from them. Only Najm al-Dīn and Dubais escaped with a small band of men,⁷⁰ so that the Georgians have retained prisoners right up to our own time.⁷¹

I saw the place of the battle when I entered Tiflīs in the year 548. I stayed there, then I entered the service of the King of the Abkhāz with whom I remained (a while). I accompanied him on a visit round his territory for a period of over seventy days.⁷² He crossed over to al-Iān and the edge of Darband and the province

of the Abkhāz. One day in the province of the Abkhāz we came to
⁷⁴
 a broad meadow in a forbidding citadel beneath a mountain. The malik
⁷⁵
 (of Darband) was encamped here. The king of the Abkhāz said to me: "O so and so!
⁷⁶
 In this citadel is a foreigner who has been a prisoner since the
 time of Īl-Ghāzī. When morning comes, go up and see him and ask
 him where he comes from". So I decided to do so and I said (to
 myself): "I will ask the king to let him go." After I had slept
 that night and daybreak had come, the bugle (f.162a) for departure
 was sounded because the King had received the news that some of
 his territory had rebelled against him. When he heard the news
 he and his entourage left and God did not decree that we should
 meet that man.

It is reported that in 515 Malik Ridwān died in Aleppo, but
⁷⁷
 the first date is more accurate. When Najm al-Dīn had been
 defeated and retreated with the men remaining, the king of the
 Abkhāz withdrew with the plunder and the prisoners. He camped
 before Tiflīs and besieged it for a while. Then he tore down its
 walls from the west and entered it by the sword, burning and
 plundering it. After three days he gave its inhabitants security,
⁷⁸
 soothed their hearts and made them fair promises.

That year, he removed from them the athqāl, the mu'an,
⁷⁹
 the aqṣāt and the kharāj.
⁸⁰
 He laid down for the Muslims all the
 conditions they wanted; these are still valid in Tiflīs today.
 (He stipulated) that no pigs should be brought over to the area
 where the Muslims lived or to the city and that these animals
 should not be slaughtered there or in the market. He struck dirhams
 for them on one side of which was the name of the sultan and the

caliph, and on the (other) side was the name of God and the name of the Prophet (on him be peace), while the king's name was on the margin of the dirham.⁸¹ He proclaimed in the town that the blood of anyone who harmed a Muslim might be shed with impunity. He granted them the call to prayer, prayers, and the reading (of the Qur'ān) in public. He also guaranteed that on Fridays sermons and public prayers should take place, and that prayers should be said from the minbar for the caliph and the sultan but for no-one else. He also guaranteed that no Georgian, Armenian or Jew should enter the bath of Ismā'īl in Tiflīs. He assessed the tax of a Georgian at a rate of⁸² five dīnārs per annum, that of a Jew at four dīnārs and that of a Muslim at three dīnārs. He treated the Muslims extremely kindly, whilst to the people of 'ilm and religion and the Sūfīs he accorded a level of respect which they did not receive (even) amongst the Muslims.⁸³

I witnessed all these privileges when I entered Tiflīs in 548. I saw the king of the Abkhāz, Dīmītrī, in whose service I was and who had come to Tiflīs. After he had stayed there a few days, he went down one Friday to the mosque and sat down on a dikka⁸⁴ opposite the preacher. He stayed in his place until the preacher had preached and he listened to the entire khutba. Then he went out and donated two hundred gold dīnārs to the mosque. I used to see him honour, reward and respect the 'ulamā', preachers, sharīfs, Sūfīs and those⁸⁵ who came to him and (he would) show unparalleled reliance on them. And from him I saw such esteem for the Muslims as they would not enjoy even if they were in Baghdad.

It is reported that in the year 515, there was an earthquake in

the city of Janza, which is Ganja.⁸⁶ Part of it fell to pieces and its walls collapsed. King Dā'ūd went with his retinue, horsemen and infantry and attacked the city.⁸⁷ He plundered their possessions and everything he found there, killing a large number of people and imprisoning innumerable crowds of them, so many of them that the prisoners entered Tiflīs on carts,⁸⁸ there being so many of them.

(f.162b) The Muslim prisoners were driven along like herds of sheep. When Dā'ūd brought them into Tiflīs, the citizens of Tiflīs bought most of them and set them free. Some of the citizens of Tiflīs said to me, "We were only in straitened circumstances from that year onwards."

It is reported that in the year 515, Maudūd was killed in the Friday mosque of Damascus and was buried in the burj.⁸⁹

It is reported that in the year 515, Najm al-Dīn returned to Mārdīn where he remained until 516.⁹⁰ He went to Aushal al-Haina in the district of Mayyāfāriqīn and stayed there with his wife the khatun, the daughter of Togh-Tegin, the lord of Damascus. He became ill and died on Thursday 27 Ramadān.⁹² He was carried by night. His son, Amir Shams al-Daula Sulaimān, and the khatun rode and came to Mayyāfāriqīn by night, arriving at the Huwa gate.⁹³ They sat the amīr on his horse, held upright by a man behind him, moved forward and shouted. The wālī,⁹⁴ whose name was Oghuzoghlu,⁹⁵ came down. A shaikh who had been a companion of Najm al-Din since his early days and to whom Shams al-Daula and the khatun had given instructions went inside.⁹⁶ So when he (the wālī) opened the gate, they said that the amīr was ill. When they reached the grounds of the citadel, they shouted and yelled that the amīr had just

⁹⁷
died.

In the morning the population of the town and those soldiers who were there went up to the citadel. The amīr was washed, prayers⁹⁸ were said over him and he was buried in the sidillī for a while. Then he was removed and buried in the masjid al-amīr to the east of the qubbat al-sultān.⁹⁹ He was buried there.

Najm al-Dīn Īl-Ghāzī had married Farkhundā Khatun, the daughter¹⁰⁰ of Malik Ridwān, when he had taken possession of Aleppo. He had contracted a marriage with her but did not consummate the union with her nor did he visit her; and he died without having met her.¹⁰¹ Amir Balak b. Bahrām b. Artuq married her after him.

It is reported that Shams al-Daula Sulaimān became established in Mayyāfāriqīn and he appointed as vizier the vizier 'Abd al-Malik¹⁰² b. Thābit and turned affairs over to him. He took Khartabirt from¹⁰³ Amir Balak and it remained in his possession until he died, whereupon Amir Dā'ūd¹⁰⁴ took it. Sulaimān (also) took the town of¹⁰⁵ Haza from Amir Dā'ūd and the villages in the district of Mayyāfāriqīn which Husām al-Daula,¹⁰⁶ lord of Arzān, had taken.

In the year (5)17, al-Afdal, amīr al-juyūsh in Egypt, was¹⁰⁷ killed, murdered by the Bāṭiniyya.

Sulaimān left as governor of Mayyāfāriqīn in the burj al-mulk¹⁰⁸ his mamlūk,¹⁰⁹ Khutlugh-Shāh and he made overtures for the hand in marriage of Sayyida Khatun, daughter of Sultan Qīlīch Arslan b.

Sulaimān b. Qutūlmush. The qādī Tāj al-Dīn Abū Sālīm b. Nubāta went to fetch her from Malatya for him. He consummated the marriage with her while he was staying in Mayyāfāriqīn.¹¹⁰

It turned out that when Najm al-Dīn died, al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn Temūr-Tash¹¹¹ his son was in Mārdīn.¹¹² Temūr-Tash therefore took over Mārdīn and assumed sole control there.¹¹³ He had with him al-Sāhib, the chamberlain, Shams al-Hujjāb Muhammad Iglish,¹¹⁴ whom Najm al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī had married to the mother of Husām al-Dīn.¹¹⁵

It is reported that on 26 Rabī' II, the qādī 'Alam al-Dīn Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Yahyā b. Nubāta died in Mayyāfāriqīn.¹¹⁶ His son, the qādī Tāj al-Dīn, took over the office of qādī. He was also called Abū Sālīm, may God have mercy on him. Shams al-Daula laid ceremonial garments on him, honoured him by giving him his father's post, and he became established in the office of qādī.¹¹⁷ Shams al-Daula had a son (f.163a) whose name was Mahmūd. I saw him in Mārdīn. He was in the worst possible condition because of the evil life he led, his own shameful conduct in his personal life, his disobedience to his family and his depravity. I do not know what became of him. Shams al-Daula was an amīr who was just, virtuous, daring and courageous. He lived until the afternoon of Thursday, 6 Ramadān¹¹⁸ 518 and was buried with his father in the masjid al-amīr.¹¹⁹ The wālī Khutlugh-Shāh¹²⁰ assumed sole control in Mayyāfāriqīn and it came into his possession and under his sway.

The account of the rule of Husam al-Dīn

It is reported that when Shams al-Daula died, Khutlugh-Shāh

assumed sole control in Mayyāfāriqīn with the vizier 'Abd al-Malik. Husām al-Dīn came, approached the gate of the city, encamped outside the town and sent a message to Khutlugh-Shāh.¹²¹ The amīr Dā'ūd b. Sukmān,¹²² lord of Hīṣn Kaifā,¹²³ was about to leave (for Mayyāfāriqīn) but Husām al-Dīn arrived (there) first.¹²⁴ He contacted Khutlugh-Shāh and he swore to meet his demands, swearing to him that he would make no changes which would put the people of the town at a disadvantage and that he would appoint 'Abd al-Malik as vizier. He took an oath agreeing to their proposals and entered the town in Shawwāl 518.¹²⁵ He appointed 'Abd al-Malik as vizier. His position became established and he acquired everything that had belonged to his father Najm al-Dīn. He treated the people kindly and they liked him. He assumed sole control.

He married the wife of his brother, the amīr Ayaz¹²⁶ b. Najm al-Dīn, who had had by her Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ayaz. Temūr-Tash had by her a daughter, Safiyya Khatun, who was the eldest of his children. After a while he married the khatun,¹²⁷ daughter of the amīr Ghāzī from Erzerum. She came to Mayyāfāriqīn and he had by her the lord Najm al-Dīn Alpī in 520. Then he had (by her) Amir Jamāl al-Dīn Tughrati (?)¹²⁸ in 521. After Husām al-Dīn took possession of the country, he begat Hadiyya Khatun, and then Amir Samsām al-Dīn Bahrām in 5--.

Husām al-Dīn took possession of Aleppo which remained in his hands for a while.¹²⁹ Then he exchanged it for ('Azāz (?)) or he handed it over and it left his possession.¹³⁰

It is reported that Sultan Maḥmūd set out for Iraq and wanted

to enter (the country), but the caliph al-Mustarshid prevented him from doing so. Much fighting took place between them. Al-Mustarshid was defeated, his possessions were plundered, and Sultan Maḥmūd entered Iraq without his permission. After a while they became well reconciled.¹³¹

It is reported that in 519 or at the beginning of 520 al-Bursuqī was killed in the Friday mosque in Mosul by the Bāṭiniyya.¹³² His son Mas'ūd¹³³ took over the land of Diyār Rabi'a and other places. The qādī Bahā' al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī,¹³⁴ Naṣīr al-Dīn Jaqar¹³⁵ and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Yaghī-Sīyanī¹³⁶ met together, collected money and taxes¹³⁷ and went down to Baghdad to pay their respects to Sultan Maḥmūd¹³⁸ and to establish Amir Mas'ūd b. al-Bursuqī in the land.¹³⁹ When they arrived, they reconsidered and discussed the matter, saying: "He is a young boy, who won't rule (f.163b) effectively and who may well not administer the country wisely. We will be blamed for the wrong he does."¹⁴⁰ So they agreed to meet Zangī b. Qasīm al-Daula Aq-Sonqur,¹⁴¹ who was the shihna of Baghdad that year.¹⁴² They established with him what offices they wanted and they exacted an oath from him promising that Bahā' al-Dīn should become qādī of Mosul and should exercise control over the posts of qādī in the whole country and over religious affairs.¹⁴³ He (also) swore that the offices of hājib¹⁴⁴ and of amīr al-'askar¹⁴⁵ should go to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn¹⁴⁶ and that Naṣīr al-Dīn should govern Mosul and the whole country and appoint as his wālīs¹⁴⁷ whom he thought fit. So Zangī swore to them that he would do this and they settled the matter to their mutual satisfaction. Then they paid their respects to the sultan and his retinue and to the caliph and his retinue, handing over the money which they had brought with them.¹⁴⁸ When they had sought

out Zangī, the sultan handed over to him his two sons Alp Arslan and al-Khafājī.¹⁴⁹ Zangī became atābeg¹⁵⁰ to them both and gained control of the country.¹⁵¹ He went and took possession of Mosul and the country at the beginning of 522.¹⁵²

It is reported that in 522 Nūr al-Daula was killed. While he was attempting to seize Manbij in Syria and was besieging it, he was struck by an arrow which killed him.¹⁵³ Amir Dā'ūd took possession of his territories: Khartabirt,¹⁵⁴ Bālū,¹⁵⁵ Mīzgard and its neighbourhood. Amir Balak had taken this province from the sons of Jubuq.¹⁵⁶ When Balak died, he left no successors other than a daughter whom Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan b. Dā'ūd married.¹⁵⁷

It is reported that in 523 Atabeg Tugh-Tegin died in Damascus¹⁵⁸ and his son Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī assumed control over Damascus and its environs.

It is reported that on 5 Shawwāl 524 Sultan Mahmūd, lord of Isfahān,¹⁵⁹ died. Also in that year the vizier al-Mazdaqānī, Bahrām, and all the Ismā'īlīs in Damascus were killed.¹⁶⁰ Sultan Mahmūd was buried in Isfahān. His brother, Sultan Toghrīl Beg, became sultan for a period of two years and then he died early in 527, whereupon his brother, Sultan Mas'ūd,¹⁶¹ became sultan.

Sultan Muhammad left a number of sons, amongst whom was Sultan Mahmūd, who wielded exclusive power, Toghrīl Beg, Sultan Sulaimān-Shāh, Mas'ūd, Saljuq-Shāh, and Bahrām-Shāh¹⁶³ who is reported to have died (?).¹⁶⁴ Sultan Mahmūd left Sultan Dā'ūd, who was the

eldest of his children and took possession of Āzarbāijān. He was killed in Tabrīz in 539 by the Bāṭiniyya in the centre of the bazaar and was buried in Tabrīz.¹⁶⁵ Sultan Mahmūd also left Muhammad-Shāh who became sultan after his uncle Mas'ūd, whose daughter he married.¹⁶⁶ Sultan Mahmūd (also) left Malik-Shāh, who during the lifetime of his uncle Mas'ūd was in the 'askar with him. (Thereafter) he took Khūzistān.¹⁶⁷ Mahmūd (also) left Alp Arslan and al-Khafājī with Atabeg Zangī in Mosul where they were both killed.¹⁶⁸ He also had a daughter, Guhar, by the daughter of Sultan Sanjar. Guhar lived until around the year 557.

As for Sulaimān-Shāh, he died and left no heirs.¹⁶⁹ As for Saljuq,¹⁷⁰ he had a son who is now in Mosul, having been with Mas'ūd Bilāl in the citadel of Takrīt.¹⁷¹ When it was taken, he was brought to Mosul where he is now. He has some children. As for Sultan Toghrīl Beg, he sired Arslan-Shāh whose mother was the wife of the amīr Eldigüz.¹⁷² He is now sultan (f.164a) of the area from Isfahān, Hamadhān, Āzarbāijān and Arrān up to the city of Ganja and Shamkūr (?).¹⁷³

In 524, Husām al-Dīn and Dā'ūd were defeated at Sarja below Dārā.¹⁷⁴ They were defeated by Atabeg Zangī.¹⁷⁵

It is reported that in 524, Sayyida Khatun, the daughter of al-Qīlich Arslan, died in Mayyāfāriqīn and was buried beside her father in the qubba.¹⁷⁶ Her mother was the wife of the amīr Rukn al-Daula Dā'ūd.¹⁷⁷ After a few days her brother, Sultan Toghrīl Beg,¹⁷⁸ came from Hīsn Kaifā to Mayyāfāriqīn. He was the son-in-law of Rukn al-Daula Dā'ūd,¹⁷⁹ being married to his daughter. He stayed in the qubba¹⁸⁰

and took all her inheritance.

It is reported that in 525 al-Āmir bi-Akhām Allāh, caliph of Egypt, died. He left behind a pregnant wife, but no son.¹⁸¹

It is reported that in this year Sultan Sanjar contacted Zangī, ordering him to release Dubais.¹⁸² So Zangī released Dubais who went to Sultan Mas'ūd. In 526 the Akhlātī ships were sunk in the sea at Constantinople with a group of people from Akhlāt travelling in them.¹⁸³ In that year Nūr al-Daula, lord of Finik,¹⁸⁴ died. His son, the amīr Abū Nasr, succeeded him. In that year Amir Dā'ūd seized the citadel of Qatalbas and Bātāsā.¹⁸⁵¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁷
It is reported that the people of Egypt were in disagreement and disarray, saying: "Before he does, the imām of this family always leaves a male nominated to succeed him as imām.¹⁸⁸ This man has left no son and has nominated no successor other than an unborn child." Before his death he had named the unborn child as his successor. The people said: "The nomination of an unborn child is permissible and it may be that a male child will be born." So they went on waiting for the unborn child to be born; but a girl was born.¹⁸⁹ The people were (again) in disagreement and agitation. At the end of 525 they brought out from the castle a man who was one of the sons of al-Mustansir. His ism was 'Abd al-Majīd, his kunya was Abu 'l-Maimūn, and his laqab was al-Hāfiz li-Dīn Allāh. One report says that this man was 'Abd al-Majīd b. al-Mustansir. Another report says that he was 'Abd al-Majīd b. Abī 'l-Qāsim al-Musta'lī b. al-Mustansir. Yet another report says that he was the son of another son of al-Mustansir - other than al-Musta'lī.¹⁹⁰ Al-Hāfiz took over the caliphate.¹⁹¹ The

people agreed on him, and the line of legitimate succession on behalf of al-Musta'li and his descendants was quashed. The Isma'ilis believe the following: that the line of succession at that time is a continuous one from al-Mustansir through Nizar until now. This is their doctrine but they are all wrong.¹⁹² Al-Hafiz remained in the caliphate and became established and his power became strong. There is no caliphate except with the 'Abbāsid family because the Prophet (may God have mercy upon him) said concerning al-'Abbās:¹⁹³ "You are the father of kings of my¹⁹⁴ umma until the Day of Resurrection." The people of Egypt and the Isma'ilis are in error. Only prejudiced and biased people think these beliefs are right. There is no imām and no caliph except the one from the 'Abbāsid family in Baghdad.¹⁹⁵

It is reported that in 525 Amir Dā'ūd took possession of Is'ird,¹⁹⁶ Bahmard¹⁹⁷ and Bātāsā.¹⁹⁸ In (f.164b) 524 Atabeg Zangī joined battle against Husām al-Dīn and Amir Dā'ūd.¹⁹⁹ After they had been defeated outside Sarja they fled for safety to Dārā.²⁰⁰ Zangī went to Syria and took Hamā²⁰¹ and its environs as well as Hims.²⁰² He made for Damascus where he took Dubais and returned to Mosul, taking with him Dubais bound in fetters.

It is reported that in Ramadān²⁰³ 526 the caliph al-Mustarshid went to Mosul. He encamped before it and laid siege to it for a while. In command of the city was Nasīr al-Dīn Jaqar.²⁰⁴ The caliph engaged in fighting the inhabitants but Nasīr had fortified the city and had dug a ditch. Although the caliph pressed on hard with the siege, he was unsuccessful and he returned to Baghdad, entering the city on 29 Dhu'l-Qa'da.²⁰⁵

It is reported that in 527 the vizier 'Abd al-Malik died in Mayyāfāriqīn and al-Nāsih 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Āmidī took over the supervision of the dīwān. When he was ²⁰⁶mutawallī in Āmid, Mu'ayyid al-Dīn b. Nīsān ²⁰⁷had seized him, mulcted him for 30,000 dīnārs and taken over his position. Al-Nāsih came to Mayyāfāriqīn and his son Abū Nasr received the profit from the harvest while al-Nāsih was ²⁰⁸given the post of administering the waqfs. After the vizier died he took control of the dīwān. ²⁰⁹

It is reported that in 528 al-Mu'ayyid Abū'l-Hasan b. Mukhtar arrived in Mayyāfāriqīn from the Jazīra. He had been mulcted by the vizier 'Abd al-Malik who had tortured him and taken a lot of money from him. He had gone off to the Jazīra until the vizier 'Abd al-Malik died and had then returned to Mayyāfāriqīn and taken over the dīwān al-istīfā' ²¹⁰with al-Nāsih. ²¹¹

(In) 528 Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥabashī Abū Tālib b. Ḥabashī left the people of Iraq for the service of al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn. He remained with him, receiving most generous hospitality. He had worked for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yaghī-Sīyanī ²¹²in Ḥamā, who had seized him and tortured him by tying a dog to him inside a sack. While the dog struck and bit his body, he rolled around in the sack until the dog's head positioned itself between his thighs, whereupon he wrung its neck until it died in the sack and he was released. So Ḥabashī fled to Qal'at Ja'bar where he stayed with Najm al-Daula Mālik b. Sālīm b. Mālik. ²¹³Then he went to Mārdīn and stayed with Ḥusām al-Dīn for a while, taking over as the vizier of al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn. He acquired an unprecedentedly comprehensive degree of power, ruling as a complete ²¹⁴

autocrat.²¹⁵

In this year al-Makīn Abu'l-Barakāt b. Abi'l-Fahm al-Harrānī²¹⁶ arrived in Mārdīn, having fled his uncle's family in Harrān. He stayed with al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn as his guest.

One report states that al-Mustarshid left Baghdad in Sha'bān 529. Another report says it was in 528.²¹⁷ He joined battle against Sultan Mas'ūd outside Hamadhān at a place called Day Marg near the mountain Bihistūn and the camp (?)²¹⁸ was plundered. The sultan had assembled a large number of men, (f.165a) together with the lord of Khartabirt with his army and troops. Moreover, his uncle, Sultan Sanjar, had sent him a large force. They joined battle and having defeated the caliph, they imprisoned him and all his state officials.²¹⁹

I asked al-Sa'īd Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Anbārī²²⁰ (may God have mercy on him) in 534 in Baghdad, when I stayed with him that year, about the affair of al-Mustarshid, about the battle and its outcome. He said: 'May God be pleased with him. Hostilities had flared up between the sultan and the caliph in the time of Sultan Mahmūd who went out and defeated the caliph twice.²²¹ When Mas'ūd succeeded him, his deputies became over-ambitious in Iraq and they opposed the caliph in his own lands.²²² Relations (between the sultan and caliph) became strained and al-Mustarshid collected troops, having seriously resolved to rebel. It happened that one day the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī 'Alī b. Tirād²²³ called on the caliph and the treasurer Kamāl al-Dīn Talha²²⁴ were with him. The caliph had driven the sultan's representatives out of Iraq and he had appointed the treasurer to take charge of²²⁵

the town and of the sultan's office of mazālim.²²⁶ When we went in that day, the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn said to him: "O master! Your slave has something on his mind. May he speak?" He said: "Go ahead." The vizier said: "O master! Where are you going, and who will give you help, refuge and support?"²²⁷ We are strongest if we stay in Baghdad. No-one can attack us and Iraq is our protection. When al-Husain b. 'Alī (blessings be upon him) left for Iraq, he met his fate. If he had stayed in Mecca no-one would have clashed with him."²²⁸ The caliph said to me: "What do you advise, O scribe?" So I said: "O master, the right course of action is to stay put. What the vizier has suggested is right. No-one will attack us in Iraq. Would God that Iraq remains ours!" So he said to the treasurer: "O wakīl, what do you say?" He replied: "I think the same way as my master."²²⁹ He was the one who egged the caliph on to rebel. Al-Mustarshid said:²³⁰ "If death is inevitable, it is despicable to die²³¹ a coward."

Then he got ready and mobilised troops. A group of Turkish amīrs²³² had joined his service and he had given them a large amount of money. Then we set out. When we came near to Hamadhān, Sultan Mas'ūd sallied forth and they joined battle at a place called Day Marg near the mountain of Bihistūn near Hamadhān.²³³ When the troops had lined up and were about to fight, all the amīrs and Turks deserted from our camp to the sultan's side, whereupon the caliph and his remaining followers fled. The camp was plundered²³⁴ and the caliph and his officials of state were seized. The vizier, the treasurer, the naqīb of the 'Alids²³⁵ and I were taken to the castle of Sar-i Jahān²³⁶ near Qazwīn and Rayy. When I (the author) went to Rayy in 549, I saw the citadel looming into view at the top of a high hill.

The sultan took al-Mustarshid with him and went round Āzarbāijān with him until he brought him to Marāgha, where he made camp.²³⁷ Three²³⁸ heretics entered the caliph's tent and killed him (may God be pleased with him). A man (f.165b) called Ibn Sakīna,²³⁹ who was leading him in prayer, was killed with him. It was Thursday, 16 Dhu'l-Qa'da 529.²⁴⁰ The caliphate of al-Mustarshid lasted seventeen years, seven months and two days.

He had appointed as heir his son, Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr al-Rāshid bi'llāh, who had stayed behind in Baghdad. When the news that al-Mustarshid had been murdered reached Baghdad, the people pledged allegiance to al-Rāshid as caliph.²⁴¹ It is said that Sultan Sanjar sent the people who killed al-Mustarshid.²⁴² But according to another report Sultan Mas'ūd applied to his uncle Sanjar for permission to kill him and Sanjar concurred.²⁴³ Mas'ūd therefore commissioned those men who accordingly went into his tent and killed him.²⁴⁴ He was buried in the city of Marāgha.

Dubais b. Sadaqa b. Mazyad was with the sultan in his camp. After a while the sultan departed and camped outside Tabrīz. One day after he had been riding, he dismounted and Saif al-Daula Dubais went in to see him. It was then that he executed him.²⁴⁵ After a few days, the sultan married the daughter of Dubais. Her mother was Sharaf Khatun, daughter of 'Amīd al-Daula b. Jahīr²⁴⁶ by Zubaida,²⁴⁷ daughter of Nizām al-Mulk.²⁴⁸ Dubais was taken to Mārdīn to his wife Guhar Khatun²⁴⁹ and was buried in the mashhad beside Najm al-Dīn īl-Ghāzī, may God have mercy on them both.²⁵⁰ There had been a report that Dubais had incited the sultan to kill al-Mustarshid.²⁵¹ The narrative of Mu'ayyid

al-Dīn continued thus: 'When al-Mustarshid was killed, Sultan Mas'ūd summoned us to his presence, so the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn, the treasurer Jamāl al-Dīn and I went to see him. The naqīb of the 'Alids had died in the citadel of Sar-i Jahān where he had been buried.²⁵² When we went to see the sultan, he said: "What is your opinion? What should be done about the caliphate? Whom do you think suitable?" The vizier said: "O master, the caliphate belongs to the heir, for the people have already pledged allegiance to him; he has come to the throne and become established. Allegiance was pledged to him when he was made heir-apparent and now (yet again) after the murder of his father."

The sultan said: "That is completely impossible. I will not confirm him as caliph, for he is thinking of rebellion just like his father did."²⁵³ Al-Mustarshid constantly rebelled against us from the moment he assumed power;²⁵⁴ he rebelled against my brother Mahmūd twice, against me once before and now yet again this time. He got what was coming to him but it is we who will be saddled with disgrace and ignominy until the end of time. People are saying, 'They killed the caliph, even though it was they who caused (the dignity of) the caliphate to be restored to this family'.²⁵⁵ I want someone on the throne who will meddle in nothing but religious matters, who will not raise an army, take up arms or assemble men and who will not rebel against me and the members of my family.²⁵⁶ There are several members of the family, so choose a shaikh from amongst their number who possesses a good intellect, judgement and resourcefulness,²⁵⁷ who observes all that obedience to us requires and does not leave his house. Do not overlook Hārūn b. al-Muqtadī, for he is a great shaikh, he will not provoke religious dissensions and he was recommended by my uncle Sanjar."

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There were at that time in the palace seven brothers, the sons of al-Muqtadī;²⁵⁹ they too had sons and grandsons. Some of these seven lived until the 550's.²⁶⁰ There were (also) in the palace seven brothers, who were the sons of al-Mustazhir,²⁶¹ amongst whom were the amīr Abū 'Abdallāh, Abū Tālib, Abū Nasr, Abu'l-Qāsim, Abū 'Alī, Ismā'īl and Yahyā. They (too) had a number of sons. Al-Mustarshid also had a number of sons. And then there was al-Rāshid, who had some twenty sons, the eldest of whom was the amīr al-jaish who had been born to his father when he was nine years old.²⁶² This is an unprecedented phenomenon.

The following story was told to me by someone in Baghdad whom I trust, who heard it from a person who used to visit (f.166a) the caliph's palace regularly and knew what was going on.²⁶³ Al-Mustarshid bought five concubines for al-Rāshid when he was seven years old. He ordered them to woo him, to put themselves at his disposal and to initiate him sexually. The concubines remained thus engaged with him until he was nine years old and had reached puberty.²⁶⁴ Amongst the girls was a yellow-skinned Abyssinian slave-girl. One day he had sexual relations with her and she became pregnant by him. This information reached al-Mustarshid, who refused to believe it. He summoned the girl and threatened her. She said, "By God, he is the only person who has been near me. He is mature like all men." The other slave-girls were questioned and they told the same story. So the caliph gave orders that the slave-girl should bring a piece of cloth. Then al-Rāshid had intercourse with her. When he rose from her she removed the piece of cloth and there was semen on it. He did the same with

the other slave-girls and there was semen too. Al-Mustarshid rejoiced at that. When her confinement came to an end, the slave-girl gave birth to a son whom al-Mustarshid called amīr al-jaish and he was extremely happy about his birth. This is an unheard-of occurrence, except in the Hijāz. It is said that girls from Tihāma menstruate at nine and that their boys reach puberty at nine. The nearest parallel between father and son is the case of 'Amr b. al-'Ās and his son 'Abdallāh who had a son when he was twelve years old. There has been no similar case except that of al-Rāshid which we have already mentioned.

Al-Rāshid followed in his father's footsteps and the people pledged allegiance to him at the end of 529. Al-Rāshid was an astute and noble-minded man who possessed judgement and ambition. That is why the sultan was reluctant to appoint him as caliph.

It is reported that in Dhu'l-Hijja 529 Sultan Mas'ūd had Ṣadaqa b. Dubais (sic) killed in his presence while he was his prisoner.²⁶⁵ I think this report is inaccurate because the people he killed were Qaracha and Mengü-Bars.

It is reported that Sultan Mas'ūd approached his uncle Sanjar seeking his advice on whom he should appoint.²⁶⁶ Sanjar sent back the following reply: "Appoint only someone vouched for by the vizier, the treasurer and Ibn al-Anbārī". So the sultan had a meeting with them. He consulted them, referred to Hārūn and told them what Sultan Sanjar had ordered them to do. The vizier said: "If that is going to be our responsibility, then we will appoint someone we think

suitable; the person I have in mind is ascetic and religious.

There is no-one like him in the palace." The sultan asked, "Who is he?" The vizier replied: "He is the amīr Abū 'Abdallāh b. al-Mustazhir." The sultan said: "Do you vouch for his good conduct?" The vizier said "Yes."²⁶⁷

The amīr Abū 'Abdallāh was the son-in-law of the vizier Sharaf al-Dīn, being married to his daughter. When she went into the palace one day, in the reign of al-Mustazhir, the amīr Abū 'Abdallāh saw her and asked for her hand in marriage from his father, who married him to her. At that time Sharaf al-Dīn was the naqīb al-nuqabā'.²⁶⁸ Ibn al-Mustazhir consummated the marriage with her and she remained with him until she died. The sultan said: "The decision is yours. Keep the matter hidden lest the affair be noised abroad and al-Muqtafī be killed in Baghdad."²⁶⁹ Then the sultan and his retinue set off for Baghdad (f.166b) accompanied by the vizier and all of us.

It is reported that after the murder of his father, the people pledged allegiance to al-Rāshid. He took sole control and became established. He sent a message to the atābeg Zangī in Mosul,²⁷⁰ asking him to come and giving him a guarantee that al-Malik Alp Arslan b. Mahmūd who was with the atābeg should become sultan and that Zangī would be in charge of the atabegate and the caliphate. Zangī therefore went down to Baghdad and took up residence on its eastern side in one of the houses belonging to the sultan. He stayed there until the news reached him that the sultan had set out for Baghdad, whereupon he encamped on the western side of Baghdad.²⁷¹

When the sultan approached Baghdad and camped near al-Nahrawān,²⁷² al-Rāshid found out what was happening and realised that it was inevitable that someone other than himself would be appointed as caliph. He shut in a cellar all the amīrs in the caliphal family who were living in the palace and he gave orders that the cellar should be closed up. I heard this story from Zain al-Daula Abu 'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. al-Ṣāhib who was the hājib al-bāb²⁷³ like his father and grandfather before him and who was with al-Rāshid. He said: "When al-Rāshid had put the amīrs in the cellar, he called me in and said, 'O 'Alī, take this sword.' He had a sword in his hand (and then) he said: 'Take care that your sword is as good as mine. I want to fetch out each person in the cellar and kill them all so that no-one remains who is eligible to become caliph. For these men may well come, change things and appoint somebody other than me.' Then he ordered the cellar to be opened. (Just then) the messenger²⁷⁴ came to al-Rāshid who said, 'What is the news?' He replied, 'The atābeg Zangī plundered the Tāhirid harīm²⁷⁵ and left for Mosul in Dhu'l-Qa'da. As for the sultan, he has arrived and crossed to al-Nahrawān. When the atābeg learned that the sultan had camped at al-Nahrawān he fled.' Thereupon al-Rāshid threw away the sword from his hand and went into the palace. He grabbed for himself jewels of inestimable value, giving me some of them too, and then went away, taking with him the chief qādī al-Zainabī²⁷⁶ and having left as vizier Jalāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Ridā (b.) Sadaqa.²⁷⁷ We left with him and he joined Zangī on the way to Mosul."

Al-Sa'id Mu'ayyid al-Din, may God bless him, said: "The following

morning the sultan entered Baghdad and we were with him. He took up residence in his palace and we did the same in our houses. The day of our arrival was 10 Dhu'l-Qa'da 530. The next day we and the vizier went to the sultan's palace, and the vizier asked the sultan's permission for what he was going to do. The sultan secured the vizier's signature and ours on the guaranty and we then returned to our houses. On the morning of Monday 12 Dhu'l-Qa'da²⁷⁸ 530 we went to see the amīr Abū 'Abdallāh and we and the vizier had a talk with him. The vizier fixed the conditions on which he was to become caliph and stipulated that he should obey the sultan. We informed him that we had vouched to the sultan for all the conditions which the sultan had laid down for him. He was content with that and we left him, went to the sultan and told him what had happened and that Abū 'Abdallāh had agreed to the conditions imposed on him. (f.167a) So the sultan said: 'Tomorrow let the people pay allegiance to him.' In the morning, we went up to the palace and removed from it musical instruments and improper things. Some of the people in the palace testified that al-Rāshid had drunk wine. The 'ulamā' duly gave a fatwā deposing him. The qādī 'Imād al-Dīn Sharaf al-Qudāt Abū Tāhir Ahmad b. al-Karkhī,²⁷⁹ the muhtasib, who was the qādī of the Shāfi'ites, may God bless him, took responsibility for this.²⁸⁰ The 'ulamā' and notables met together and²⁸¹ deposed al-Rāshid.

The vizier, the treasurer and I went in to see Abū 'Abdallāh. We talked together and I handed him a piece of paper with some laqabs on it: al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh and al-Mustadī bi-Amr Allāh²⁸² and al-Mustanjid bi'llāh. The caliph said, 'It is up to you to choose', and asked me, 'What do you think?' So I said, 'Al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allah', whereupon he said, "Blessed be that name." Then the caliph stretched

his hand and the vizier took it, kissed it and said, 'I have pledged allegiance to our lord and master, al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh, Commander of the Faithful, on God's book and on the sunna and ijtihād of the Prophet of God.' Then the treasurer took his hand, kissed it and pledged allegiance in the same way. Then I took his hand and having kissed it, I said: 'I have pledged allegiance to our lord and master, the imām al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh, Commander of the Faithful, on the same conditions as I pledged allegiance to his father, his brother, and his nephew at his heir-apparent ceremony.' I had pledged allegiance to the imām al-Mustazhir bi'llāh when I served as his wakīl ²⁸³ al-dar in the year (4)92. I had remained (in that post) until the year 507 when I was given charge of the dīwān al-inshā'.²⁸⁴ I had (also) pledged allegiance to al-Mustarshid and al-Rāshid.²⁸⁵ Then we stood up and left him and he went into the palace. After the people had pledged allegiance to him, all the 'ulamā', fuqahā', qādīs and notables went in and did likewise. Three days later, Sultan Mas'ūd arrived and pledged allegiance to him. Then all his retinue, the khwājas, the chamberlain and all his state officials pledged allegiance to al-Muqtafī, who assumed sole command and became established in the caliphate."

It is reported that in 529 Najm al-Daula ²⁸⁷ Mālik died in Qal'at Ja'bar and was succeeded by his son.²⁸⁸ Also in that year the atābeg Zangī took al-Raqqa from Musayyib b. Mālik.²⁸⁹²⁹⁰

A number of people had held office as vizier to al-Mustarshid in his time. Amongst them were Amīn al-Dīn Khwāja Ahmad b. Nizām al-Mulk and Sharaf al-Dīn Anūshīrwān,²⁹¹²⁹² each of whom held office twice: then Jalāl al-Dīn Abū 'Alī b. Sadaqa was vizier until he died.²⁹³ Then

Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī held office as vizier until the caliph was killed. Al-Zainabī had been taken prisoner with him as we have already mentioned.

To go back to what happened to al-Rāshid: he left for Mosul with the atābeg Zangī in Safar 531, accompanied by the chief qādī al-Zainabī and Jalāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Ridā b. Sadaqa, the nephew of the vizier Abū 'Alī. Having stayed with Zangī for a while, al-Rāshid went with him as far as Nasībīn, where he stayed a few days. Thereafter he left the atābeg and went to Sultan Mas'ūd to ask if he might enter his territory and proceed to Sultan Sanjar.²⁹⁴

It is reported that he sought out Sultan Dā'ūd and went to see him (to seek) his own reinstatement (f.167b) as caliph.²⁹⁵ When he was near Isfahān, a group of heretics rose against him, went into his tent and killed him in Ramadān 532.²⁹⁶ He was taken to Isfahān and buried there in the city of Shahrīstān,²⁹⁷ which is one farsakh from Isfahān. It is said that the city was built by Alexander on a bridge over a river known as the Zāyanda Rūd.²⁹⁸ The caliphate of al-Rāshid, from the time allegiance was pledged to him after the murder of his father until the ceremony of allegiance to al-Muqtafī, was more or less 11 months. It is said that the sultan sent people to go in and kill al-Rāshid.²⁹⁹ He left in the palace some twenty sons, amongst whom the eldest was amīr al-jaish, and it is said that he appointed him as his heir before he left Baghdad. As for the chief qādī, al-Zainabī, may God have mercy on him, he returned (from Mosul), went down to Baghdad and returned to his post. As for Jalāl al-Dīn Abu'l Ridā b. Sadaqa, he became vizier to Atābeg Zangī for a while, before being³⁰⁰

dismissed and returning to Baghdad. He had become vizier to Zangī after the death of Diyā' al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd al-Kafartūthī. Al-Muqtafī became established in the caliphate and his rule was secure.

It is reported that in (5)32 Sultan Saljuq-Shāh besieged Akhlāt for a while and then withdrew.³⁰¹ In (5)33 Amīr Dā'ūd had the khutba said in the name of al-Muqtafī on Friday 23 Muharram.

In the year (5)3(3?) the Sanāsuna³⁰² imprisoned the lord of Akhlāt;³⁰³ they were given Khūwīth³⁰⁴ and he was released through the mediation of Husām al-Dīn in Jumādā I (5)33.

It is reported that in 529 Malik Toghril Beg died outside Damascus and was taken to Iraq. He was murdered.³⁰⁵

In 529 I travelled from Mayyāfāriqīn to Mārdīn having not previously left Mayyāfāriqīn, and I stayed in Mārdīn for a while. While I was in Mārdīn, Dubais' bier arrived and he was buried in the mashhad. In this year the wife of the amīr Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ayaz died. She had also been married to the amīr Husām al-Dīn and she had Safiyya Khatun by him.³⁰⁶ I was in Mārdīn this year when al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn married the princess, the khatun, daughter of al-Malik Ridwān. She had come that year from Aleppo. She had been wife of Badr al-Daula Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Artuq and she died in Mārdīn.³⁰⁷ She came from Aleppo, accompanied by a son whose ism was Köpek³⁰⁸ and whose laqab was Majd al-Mulūk. After a time al-Sa'īd

Husām al-Dīn married her. In this year Tāj al-Dīn Abū Sālīm b. Nubāta, may God be pleased with him, came to Mārdīn.

It is reported that in 528 Atabeg Zangī and Husām al-Dīn attacked the citadel of al-Sūr.³⁰⁹ After Zangī had taken it on 21 Rajab,³¹⁰ he handed it over to al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn and Hamdān b. Aslam was³¹¹ killed. He was one of the courageous amīrs in the suite of Amir Dā'ūd and had been governor of al-Sūr on his behalf.³¹² In this year, (f.168a) Atabeg Zangī came to Tall Shaikh and joined up with Husām al-Dīn.³¹³ They (then) encountered Dā'ūd outside Āmid and defeated him.³¹⁴ Zangī entered al-Sūr and took it. In this year Atabeg Zangī took possession of Tanza and Tall Shaikh.³¹⁵ Diyā' al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd b. al-Kafartūthī became vizier to Atabeg Zangī and entered his service.³¹⁶ In that year Shams al-Daula al-Ahdab died.³¹⁷

It is reported that in the year (5)30, Husām al-Dīn ordered the destruction of the rabad³¹⁸ and the muhaddatha³¹⁹ and they were (duly) destroyed.³²⁰ An argument had arisen between al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn and Amir Dā'ūd, with Zangī siding with Amir Husām al-Dīn. After they had defeated Amir Dā'ūd outside Āmid, they went and seized Jabal Jūr,³²¹ Dhu'l-Qarnain and Siwān.³²² These places were taken from Amir Arslan b. 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Artuq and were handed over by Zangī to al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn.³²⁴ Amir Arslan ran away and entered the service of Amir Dā'ūd.

It is reported that in (5)28 Amir Dā'ūd plundered the rabad of Tanza, taking its inhabitants captive, plundering their possessions and raping the women more disgracefully than even the Franks would have done. In (5)28, al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn took possession of

al-Hattākh, as we have already related.³²⁵ He took al-Hattākh from³²⁶
 Amir Shams al-Daula 'Īsā b. Ahmad b. Nizām al-Dīn b. Marwān.³²⁷

It is reported that in 531 Husām al-Dīn came to Mayyāfāriqīn,
 accompanied by Ḥabashī b. Ḥabashī,³²⁸ who conducted an inspection of
 the 'ummāl³²⁹ and the mutasarrifūn.³³⁰ Ḥabashī mulcted the inhabitants
 of the city, uprooted them (from their homes) and did them great harm.
 The people met at his hand abuse, injustice and oppression of an
 indescribable severity and he inflicted tyranny and extreme hardship
 on them. Ḥabashī seized al-Nāsiḥ al-Āmidī, who was the mutawallī of
 the dīwān of Mayyāfāriqīn, and his son Abū Nasr. Al-Mu'ayyid b.
 Mukhtar, who was (also) mutawallī, fled from Ḥabashī and went to the
 Jazīra, but the latter arrested his brother Abū Sa'īd. Ḥabashī
 released the 'amīd³³¹ Abū Tāhir b. al-muhtasib from prison where he
 had incarcerated him for a while, and he appointed him³³² muhtasib of the
 people. They encountered from him unspeakable severity and hardship.

In that year I was in the Jazīra where I lived for a while
 before returning to Mayyāfāriqīn. I went on to Naṣībīn where I
 saw Atabeg Zangī.

It is reported that in (5)29 Najm al-Daula Mālik b. Sālim³³³ died
 in Qal'at Ja'bar and Atabeg Zangī took al-Raqqa from Amir Musayyib.³³⁴
 He went on to Damascus, besieged it for a while and then entered it.³³⁵
 Mālik's son Badrān³³⁶ was in Qal'at Ja'bar for a while, remaining until
 the beginning of (5)30 when his brother Amir 'Alī b. Mālik killed
 him and took over the citadel.³³⁷

It is reported that in 528 'Abd al-Mu'min conquered the Maghrib.³³⁸
 I will mention something about him and about the information which
 has reached me about him. The story goes as follows: Muhammad b.
 Tūmart who was from the Maṣmūda (tribe)³³⁹ went to the countries of the
 east.³⁴⁰ He was the shaikh of 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī al-Kūmī³⁴¹ who came
 from the mountains of Sūs in the extreme west. Muhammad b. Tūmart
 al-Idrīsī al-Ḥusainī had gone (f.168b) to the east where he remained
 for a while before returning to the Maghrib in 519.³⁴²

While he was staying in Marrākush, a group of fuqahā' met him.³⁴³
 When he engaged in debate with them, he revealed that his opinions
 were unconventional and not the orthodox doctrines of the people of
 the Maghrib. So both parties disapproved of one another.³⁴⁴ Then
 the fuqahā' held a meeting with the amīr al-muslimīn³⁴⁵ 'Alī b. Yūsuf
 b. Tāshufīn³⁴⁶ at which they said to him, "Send this man away from us.
 If you don't, he will corrupt and ruin people." 'Alī therefore
 ordered him to leave,³⁴⁷ which he did in 520.³⁴⁸ 'Alī banished him to
 the mountain area of the Maṣmūda, a group of Berbers who were his
 own tribe.³⁴⁹ After he had spent some time with them he incited
 them to disobey the amīr al-muslimīn.³⁵⁰ Thereupon the amīr al-muslimīn
 took the field against him and Ibn Tūmart defeated him. The
 commander of the troops, 'Abdallāh b. Malwīya, was killed. The amīr
al-muslimīn therefore went out in person and, having assembled his
 troops, he met Ibn Tūmart on the battlefield and defeated him.³⁵¹

Ibn Tūmart consolidated his position in the mountain area, which
 is a journey of a month or two.³⁵² This mountain area is called Daran³⁵³
 and is in the province of Marrākush and Sūs. A great many people

rallied to him. When Muhammad b. Tūmart died in 523,³⁵⁴ his place was taken by 'Alī al-Wansharishī who equipped troops and laid siege to Marrākush in 524.³⁵⁵ After the amīr al-muslimīn had defeated him and hounded him from Marrākush, he fled to the mountains and strengthened his position there. The situation between the two of them remained more or less unchanged until 528 when 'Alī al-Wansharishī died.

He was succeeded by 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī al-Kūmī.³⁵⁶ He was one of the companions, disciples, friends and helpers of Muhammad b. Tūmart. Having mobilised troops, he met the amīr al-muslimīn in battle and defeated him. He took possession of the whole mountain area, seizing another province too before going down into the desert in 530,³⁵⁷ conquering most of the lands of the amīr al-muslimīn and acquiring (every) place.³⁵⁸ He conquered most of Ifriqiyya and the lands of Spain,³⁵⁹ taking most of the lands of the amīr al-muslimīn and conquering many places from the Franks. Then in 540 he met the amīr al-muslimīn, Tāshufīn b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf, defeated him and killed many people.³⁶⁰ He imprisoned and killed the amīr al-muslimīn.³⁶¹ He gained a strong hold of the country; he conquered most of the Maghrib and the people went in terror of him. Whenever he conquered a city he would kill all its inhabitants, and he used to say: "I am the Lord of the Age."³⁶² In (5)42 he took the city of Tūnis³⁶³ which is one of the mightiest cities of the Maghrib.³⁶⁴ According to the Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik the circumference of its walls is 21 miles.³⁶⁵

In the year (5)31,³⁶⁶ on 4 Dhu'l-Qa'da, the amīr Dā'ūd took over control of Ḥanī from the amīr Shāhrukh³⁶⁷ and granted it (back) to him as an iqṭā'. Shāhrukh remained in (his) service in the rabad of

Hānī until he died. He was buried in Hānī.

It is reported that in 541 'Abd al-Mu'min seized the territory of the Baṇu Hammad, driving them out of that area.³⁶⁸ In 532 he conquered and took possession of al-Mahdiyya;³⁶⁹ there was no-one who opposed him, was hostile to him or resisted him. He built two great cities, one of which was a port which he called al-Mahdiyya³⁷⁰ (f.169a) and the other was inland (?).³⁷¹ His sovereignty became established and he continued conquering the lands of the Franks bit by bit until his death in 540.³⁷² His sons remained in power after him. It is said that he left some forty male children.³⁷³

It is reported that in 532 the Byzantine emperor left Constantinople for Syria.³⁷⁴ He seized Buṣā'a,³⁷⁵ taking all its inhabitants away into captivity and plundering the property there. He (then) encamped before Aleppo and laid siege to it.³⁷⁶ Although Atabeg Zangī joined battle with him, he remained fixed on his goal; but when all the troops of Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rabī'a came and Amir Dā'ūd sent his son with Turcoman troops,³⁷⁷ the Byzantine emperor left Aleppo and returned to his own country.³⁷⁸

In this year Bahā' al-Dīn Abu'l-Hasan b. 'Alī al-Shahrazūrī³⁷⁹ died in al-Raqqā, where he was buried. News of his death came to the Jazīra while I was staying there. That year I lived there for a while before returning to Mayyāfāriqīn. In (5)32 Zangī made peace terms with the ruler of Damascus whose mother he (then) married.³⁸⁰ In that year Zangī took Hims and killed Qīr-Khan, its ruler.³⁸¹ In that year Shihāb al-Dīn, ruler of Damascus,³⁸² was killed and was succeeded

by his son.³⁸⁴

It is reported that in 533 Amir Dā'ūd looted Arzan, taking all its inhabitants into captivity and plundering their possessions - and he allowed his soldiers completely free rein.³⁸⁵ While he was there, atrocities worse than those at Tanza were committed on the population, and the people received indescribable treatment at his hands. When al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn arrived in Mayyāfāriqīn, Husām al-Daula Qurtī b. al-Ahdab,³⁸⁶ lord of Arzan, joined him.

It is reported that in Shawwāl (5)33, Sav-Tegin al-Karjī,³⁸⁷ lord of Harrān, died. Atabeg (Zangī) attacked and took possession of the city.³⁸⁸ In this year Husām al-Dīn defeated the Franks in Shabakhtān and captured the caravan outside Edessa.³⁸⁹ In that year I was in Āmid. In that year al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn and Zangī made peace. Zangī took Dārā and married Safiyya Khatun, daughter of al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn.³⁹⁰ She was brought to Mosul in 534 while I was there.

I had stayed in Mayyāfāriqīn until the end of 5(3)3 before going down to Baghdad, where I met al-Sa'īd Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Abū 'Abdāllah Muḥammad b. al-Anbārī, may God have mercy on him.³⁹¹ I arrived in Baghdad (only) in Rabi'ī, 534 because I had spent some time in the Jazīra and Mosul. I lived in Baghdad for six months and I saw the caliph al-Muqtafi when Khwāja 'Izz al-Mulk took the oath of allegiance to him. (It was at that time that) the caliph al-Muqtafi consummated his marriage with the sultan's sister.³⁹² While I was in Baghdad, I was at the Bāb al-Hujra³⁹³ at the time of

the marriage of Sultan Mas'ūd to the daughter of the caliph al-Muqtafi.³⁹⁵ The chief qādī al-Zainabī,³⁹⁶ may God have mercy on him, preached a sermon. Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī b. Tīrād al-Zainabī³⁹⁷ was vizier and Kamāl al-Dīn was the treasurer.³⁹⁸

I visited a group of the famous people of Iraq. I studied the Farā'id³⁹⁹ under Shaikh Abu'l-Muzaffar b. al-Shahrazūrī al-'Attār.⁴⁰⁰ (f.169b) I studied the Fasīh⁴⁰¹ and the 'Umda⁴⁰² with Shaikh Abū Mansūr al-Jawālīqī⁴⁰³ and I studied the Tanbīh with Shaikh Abū Hasan Abu'l-Khall.⁴⁰⁴ I met Shaikh Abū Mansūr al-Razzāz⁴⁰⁵ and a group of the fuqahā',⁴⁰⁶ Shaikh 'Abd al-Qādir b. al-Narāwī⁴⁰⁷ and the sons of the chief qādī al-Dāmghānī⁴⁰⁸ and Yūsuf al-Dimishqī and a group of hadīth scholars, amongst whom were the qādī Abū Bakr, who was the qādī of the bīmāristān,⁴⁰⁹ Ibn al-Samarqandī,⁴¹⁰ 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Anmātī⁴¹¹ and many others. I listened to them and I studied the Qur'ān with Shaikh Abū Muhammad b. Nabt (?) and the Khifāf with Shaikh 'Abd al-Wahhāb. I stayed in Baghdad and visited all the mashhads there. I went down to al-Madā'in and visited the tomb of Salmān al-Fārisī. I stayed in Baghdad until 5 Muharram 535.

At the end of 534, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī, who was vizier, became angry, went off in high dudgeon to the sultan's palace and took up residence there.⁴¹² The caliph sent the sultan a slave whose name was Najāh requesting the sultan's permission to dismiss the vizier. The chief qādī al-Zainabī deputised as vizier for a while and was succeeded as deputy by Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Sadīd al-Daula.⁴¹⁴ The order from the sultan dismissing Sharaf al-Dīn arrived in 535.⁴¹⁵ Nizām al-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar b. al-Za'im b. Jahīr, who had been

ustādh al-dār,⁴¹⁷ was appointed vizier and he became established in the post.

It is reported that in 534 Atabeg Zangī took the citadel of Ba'lbak.⁴¹⁸ After he had camped before Damascus and besieged it for a while, the people handed over to him the citadel of Busra.⁴¹⁹ It is reported that the treasurer Kamāl al-Dīn resigned from office and went to Mecca. His son, Qawām al-Dīn b. Sadaqa, was appointed to succeed him. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī did not leave his house.⁴²⁰ Safī al-Dīn b. al-Zuwān al-Hāshimī was the sāhib al-diwān⁴²¹ and Nizām al-Dīn became established as vizier.

Then I returned to Mayyāfāriqīn early in Muharram 535, passing through Mosul and Hīsn Kaifā, where I happened to meet Amir Dā'ūd. A quarrel had arisen between him and al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn,⁴²² and having pillaged the district of Mayyāfāriqīn in Muharram (5)36 Dā'ūd camped outside the city gate where he remained for eight days and then withdrew. He had raided the whole district and had gone to Tall Shaikh, taken it, and distributed the town as an iqtā'. Al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn destroyed the citadel of Bushāt⁴²³ although he had taken it and erected (new) buildings in it.⁴²⁴ So Dā'ūd seized all the iqtā'⁴²⁵ of Jabal (Jūr). He spent each day raiding from the two places as far as the gate of the city, stealing people's clothes during the day.⁴²⁶ Habashī was in charge of the area with the hājib Yūsuf Īnal as wālī.⁴²⁷ He governed the people and protected the town. The situation remained like that until the end of 535. In 536 Amir Dā'ūd and al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn made peace and Amir Dā'ūd came to Mayyāfāriqīn and

went into the citadel. An agreement was then established between them.

It is reported that half-way through Jumādā I in 536 Amir⁴²⁸ (f.170a) Sa'd al-Daula ʾil-aldī b. Ibrāhīm, lord of Āmid, died whilst Mu'ayyid al-Dīn was (still) mutawallī⁴²⁹ in Āmid. He put ʾil-aldī's son in power and the latter became established. His mother was Yumna Khatun, daughter of Najm al-Dīn ʾil-Ghāzī, and Ḥusām al-Dīn was his maternal⁴³⁰ uncle. I was in Āmid that year with my father, may God have⁴³¹ mercy on him.

It is reported that in 536 Shams al-Mulūk was killed in Damascus.⁴³²

It is reported that Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ḥabashī and the 'amīd Abū⁴³³ Ṭāhir b. al-Muḥtasib were (in power) when al-Mu'ayyid Abū'l-Ḥasan⁴³⁴ b. al-Mukhtar returned to the service of al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn. Ḥabashī seized him in (5)34 and he remained under arrest. Ḥabashī killed his brother al-Ra'īs Abū Sa'īd under torture. Ḥabashī remained (in power) until the end of (5)36 when Atabeg Zangī got in touch with Ḥusām al-Dīn saying: "If we send messengers to one another, they do not behave honestly with you or me. If you want to come to an agreement, let Ḥabashī be sent to me."⁴³⁵ So Ḥusām al-Dīn sent Ḥabashī to him, accompanied by the hājib Nāsir and others. When they met Zangī, he asked them to stay. After three days he appointed Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥabashī to the dīwān al-istifā'⁴³⁶ and laid upon him a satin jubba, a garment (studded) with 'Irāqī gold and a horse with a (decorated) saddle.⁴³⁷ The envoys who had gone with Ḥabashī returned home. Then Ḥabashī assured Atabeg⁴³⁸ Zangī that he could take the country and swore an oath to him on that. So Zangī said: "I will have what has been sworn to me but when we reach the country I will hand it over to you."

In this year al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn seized the most excellent Abu'l-Rijā b. Saratān⁴³⁹ and imprisoned him for a while. Then he tore out his eyes and threw him from the top of the citadel of Mārdīn into the maidān.

It is reported that in 537 Atabeg Zangī made his way to Diyār Bakr and entered the territory of Amir Ya'qūb b. Qizīl⁴⁴⁰ Arslan. He attacked Khizān⁴⁴¹, al-Mādan⁴⁴², Irūn⁴⁴³ and Qatalbas⁴⁴⁴ and took the whole region.⁴⁴⁵ That year I was in Mosul.

In 538 Atabeg Zangī turned towards the country (Diyār Bakr), arrived in the district of Mārdīn and came to Tall Bashmī⁴⁴⁶ with the intention of going into the province of Āmid and Mayyāfāriqīn. He had already taken possession of Hānī⁴⁴⁷, Is'ird, Jabal Jūr, Dhu'l-Qarnain and the whole of that region after the conclusion of the peace-treaty with Amir Dā'ūd.⁴⁴⁸ Zangī made camp in the olive grove at Tall Bashmī. One night Mu'ammil al-Shāqisī and Muhammad b. Abī'l-Mukārim al-Muhalmī⁴⁴⁹ went into Habashī's tent and they struck him down with their swords. They took his head and brought it to al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn.⁴⁵⁰ There was an outcry and the people and the 'askar were in uproar. The following morning Zangī withdrew and returned to Nasībīn.

It is reported that on Sunday 19 Muharram 539 Amir Dā'ūd died in Hānī and was taken to Hīsn Kaifā.⁴⁵¹ His bier went through (Mayyāfāriqīn) on the Monday and was placed in the Muhaddatha mosque⁴⁵² where the citizens and Qur'ān readers went to visit it. The following morning (f.170b), Amir Dā'ūd was taken to Hīsn Kaifā. His son,

Amir Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan , took possession of Ḥiṣn Kaifā, Khartabirt and Bālū after him. His son Arslan Toghmish took the citadel of Mīzgard.⁴⁵³

Atabeg Zangī attacked the territory of Amir Dā'ūd and captured Is'ird, Bahmard, Tanzī, Bātāsā and all the province adjoining the province of al-Ma'dan. He (then) crossed to the other province, i.e. Ḥanī, Jabal Jūr, Dhu'l-Qarnain and al-Sīwān.⁴⁵⁴ He (then) went and took Arqanīn,⁴⁵⁵ al-Hālār,⁴⁵⁶ Tall Khūm,⁴⁵⁷ Charmūk⁴⁵⁸ and all that area,⁴⁵⁹ except for Khartabirt, Bālū and Mīzgard which remained in the hands of Dā'ūd's sons.

In this year Sultan Dā'ūd was killed in the bazaar at Tabrīz.⁴⁶⁰ In this year Arslan Toghmish b. Dā'ūd married Hadiyya Khatun, daughter of al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn, and she was taken to Arslan Toghmish in Mīzgard. (Also in this year) Atabeg Zangī and Ḥusām al-Dīn quarrelled.

Atabeg Zangī went down to Edessa and having laid siege to the city for a while, he conquered it by force on 25 Jumādā II 539⁴⁶¹ which was 23 December (1144).⁴⁶² Edessa had been taken by the Franks after the death of Taj al-Daula in the year 492⁴⁶³ and they had held it for forty-seven years. After he had put the affairs of the city in order, Zangī withdrew from it and camped outside al-Bīra which he besieged.⁴⁶⁴ The Christians had been saying that Atabeg Zangī would be killed on Christmas night and they were expecting that to happen but Zangī took the city on Christmas night and did not die and the Christians were lying.

It is reported that he continued besieging al-Bīra for a while.⁴⁶⁵ A few days later, the news reached him that Nasīr al-Dīn Jaqar⁴⁶⁶ governor of Mosul, had been killed by his ghulāms on 8 Dhu'l-Qa'da 539.⁴⁶⁷ Atabeg Zangī withdrew from al-Bīra,⁴⁶⁸ went to Mosul and put its affairs in order, placing Zain al-Dīn 'Alī Kuçük in charge.⁴⁶⁹

In 539 Amir Kurj Ghāzī, lord of al-Bārī'a, died in Āmid.⁴⁷⁰

The people of Mosul had suffered at the hand of Nasīr al-Dīn extreme injustice, tyranny, murder, mulcting and the imposition of illegal taxes. When Zain al-Dīn became governor, he did away with all that and he treated kindly both the citizens and the people of the whole area. The people received every kindness from him until he died in 564.⁴⁷¹

In Rajab 538 Husām al-Dīn summoned 'Alam al-Dīn Abu'l-Fath Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Nubāta to Mārdīn and made him qādī of Mārdīn, appointing his brother Bahā' al-Dīn as khatīb in Mayyāfāriqīn. Majd al-Dīn Dā'ūd, son of the qādī al-Sadīd, who had been qādī of Mārdīn, was dismissed in that year at the time that 'Alam al-Dīn was appointed. Al-Mu'ayyid Abu'l-Hasan b. Mukhtar al-Mustaufī was responsible for this. Two days later Bahā' al-Dīn was appointed khatīb in Mārdīn, a job he already held in Mayyāfāriqīn. After 'Alam al-Dīn had been appointed qādī of Mārdīn, he established his position and took up residence in Mārdīn. He moved his family and children to Mārdīn and there he remains to this day.

Makīn al-Daula (f.171a) Ibrāhīm b. Munqidh had come to Mārdīn from the people of Egypt. He stayed for a while as the guest of Husām

al-Dīn. Then, two days after the appointment of 'Alam al-Dīn as qādī of Mārdīn, Husām al-Dīn made him vizier, appointing as his deputy al-Muhadhhib al-Baghdādī, who was a scribe in the mashhad of Mārdīn. His full name was Abu 'Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-'Irāqī. He used to say:- "I am from the Mu'wajj⁴⁷² family in Baghdad." That year I was in Mārdīn.

At the beginning of his rule in Mayyāfāriqīn, al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn had moved Najm al-Dīn ḥl-Ghāzī and Shams al-Daula his⁴⁷³ brother from the Masjid al-Amīr to Mārdīn.⁴⁷⁴ Then he buried them in the citadel of Mārdīn in the Khidr mosque in the citadel. In that place there was a turba in which a group of people who had⁴⁷⁵ died at the time of ḥl-Ghāzī were (buried). ḥl-Ghāzī and Shams al-Daula were buried there for a while. Then al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn erected a beautiful mashhad below the rabad of Mārdīn at 'Ain Baqrī in which he built a turba. He spent a lot of money on it, established a waqf on it and put the tombs there. There they buried all those people who had previously or subsequently been in the citadel.⁴⁷⁶ Husām al-Dīn furnished it with rugs, screens and ornaments. He put in it a library supplied with many books which are still there today.

It is reported that in 539 the structure of the Qaramān bridge collapsed. It dates from the year 48.⁴⁷⁷ In this year the curtain wall inside Mayyāfāriqīn fell down and was rebuilt.⁴⁷⁸

It is reported that in (5)40 the Egyptian vizier was arrested and imprisoned in the citadel of Mārdīn. While in prison he collected pieces of material and escaped from the prison,⁴⁷⁹ by tying

them round his waist, lowering himself from the citadel of Mārdīn and running away. In the morning the people looked for him but could not find him. (When) they saw the material tied in place, they looked for him and found him on the hill-side. They brought him to al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn who let him go and sent him away without harming him.

It is reported that in 540 al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn defeated Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan at Bāghīn.⁴⁸⁰ It was a great and memorable day. The victory and conquest belong to Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad b. Ayaz b. ʾl-Ghāzī since he was at the head of the troops with his uncle, Ḥusām al-Dīn. In (5)40 Atabeg Zangī came to Mayyāfāriqīn, took Tall Shaikh and harassed Mayyāfāriqīn for a while before withdrawing.

It is reported that in 540 Shaikh Nūr al-Huda Sulaimān b. 'Umar the 'Alid came from Is'ird to Mayyāfāriqīn while Ḥusām al-Dīn was staying in the town.⁴⁸¹ The inhabitants of Mayyāfāriqīn all went out to meet him about a farsakh outside the town, and then the amir went and met him at the Qubbaṭ al-Sultān,⁴⁸² for Sulaimān was distinguished and learned. He stayed with Tāj al-Dīn, may God have mercy on him, in the house of 'Alam al-Dīn. After one day the amīr went in to see him and Sulaimān did not stand up for him, but remained seated in the mosque. When he preached and spoke, the people were captivated by him, the amīr was considerably affected by him and he acquired the highest possible position.⁴⁸³ His status became such that if the amīr was in Mayyāfāriqīn, Sulaimān was with him. If the amīr went to Mardīn, he would go with him; indeed, he lived wherever (f.171b) the amīr lived. He became such a celebrity that during the whole time he stayed with the

amīr he did not stand up for him at all.

It seems that he acted in a way which was inappropriate for the likes of him. Having gone down in the people's estimation he went off to Syria, where he remained a while and took the citadel of Abū Qubais.⁴⁸⁴ He then had a disagreement with the Ismā'īlīs and returned to al-Sa'īd Husam al-Dīn with whom he remained for a time. He had encouraged al-Sa'īd Husam al-Dīn to become interested in alchemy but he achieved no results. He went to Is'ird where he remained for a while until the month of Rabī' I 546. As he was going into the mosque one Friday, two Ismā'īlīs attacked him. One of them struck him with a dagger; the shaikh hit back at him with a sword which he had in his hand, and the other man leapt on him striking him with a knife. He fell down. The people were in uproar and his assailant and his companion were arrested. He had lived until his appointed day and then he died, may God have mercy on him. He was buried in the Khidr mosque in Is'ird and his two murderers were killed.

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It is reported that in 540 al-Maula Najm al-Dīn al-Mālik (Alpī) became joined in marriage to the khatun, daughter of Amir Ahmad b. Sukmān, lord of Akhlāt. She was the uterine sister of the Shāh-i Arman and the daughter of his paternal uncle.⁴⁸⁶ Safī al-Dīn b. Rashīq, Athīr al-Dīn 'Abbād b. Abī'l-Futūh, Sirāj al-Dīn b. Kāmil Ghāzī and a group of Sukmān's state officials came and stayed a few days in Mayyāfāriqīn, before going on to Mārdīn and then returning home. In 541 Qadi 'Alam al-Dīn Abu'l-Fath Muḥammad b. Nubāta went to Akhlāt with dignitaries of state and fetched the khatun. The wedding took place in Mārdīn and was attended by the state dignitaries from

Akhlāt.

It is reported that in 541 al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn, may God have mercy on him, began the building of the Qaramān bridge under the supervision of al-Zāhid b. al-Tawīl. After its piles had been firmly fixed on the eastern side, floods wrecked it completely because of his defective craftsmanship.⁴⁸⁷ Al-Zāhid was fined for his work and removed from the job.⁴⁸⁸ His place was taken by Amir Saif al-Dīn Shīrbārīk Maudūd b. 'Alī (b. Alp-Yaruq) b. Artuq.⁴⁸⁹ He began building it under the supervision of Abu'l-Khair al-Fāsūl, who brought unusually large pieces of wood and began work.⁴⁹⁰ It is one of the marvels built in this age and work continued on it.⁴⁹¹

In 541 Atabeg Zangī attacked Qal'at Ja'bar where Saif al-Daula Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Mālik was.⁴⁹² He prosecuted the siege vigorously and it was on the verge of being taken. Jamāl al-Dīn Tughrati(?),⁴⁹³ the son of al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn, was in his service with an 'askar but he had seized Jamāl al-Dīn and imprisoned him in the church in the rabad of the citadel.⁴⁹⁴

When I was in Mosul in 544 I asked the wālī al-Masdar al-Kāmil Qādī al-Qudāt, Kamāl al-Dīn, Abu'l-Fadl Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Shakrazūrī,⁴⁹⁵ may God perpetuate his shadow, about the killing of the atabeg (f.172a) and what had happened. He said: 'After we had been besieging the citadel for a while, Amir Ḥassān al-Manbijī⁴⁹⁶ went out one day and shouted: "I want to speak to Amir 'Alī." When 'Alī appeared in front of him on the walls, he said to him: "You know what friendship exists between us and you know what sort of man Zangī is.

You have no-one to protect you, no-one to defend you against Zangī. The best thing to do is to surrender; if not, he will take the citadel by the sword in a way which you will be powerless to resist. After such an eventuality what fate can you expect?"

'Alī replied: "Amir Ḥassān! I am expecting relief from God most high and what you were expecting at Manbij when Amir Balak was besieging it - and God took care of him for you." ⁴⁹⁷

Kamāl al-Dīn said: 'By God, hardly had half of that night passed (it was Wednesday, 5 Rabī' II or, according to another report, the 9th of that month, ⁴⁹⁸ 541) when the town-crier shouted from the citadel: "Atabeg Zangī has been killed. ⁴⁹⁹ What good news for you, Ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn!" People shouted and were in an uproar. It had come about because while Atabeg Zangī had been sleeping in his tent, a slave was with him but no-one else. When he was asleep that night in his tent, the slave killed him. Taking the knife covered in blood he left, went up to the rabad below the citadel and shouted to the people, "I have killed Atabeg Zangī." ⁵⁰⁰ When they did not believe him, he showed them the knife and other effects which he had taken from Zangī's tent. So they let him come up to them, verified his story and called out the news. ⁵⁰¹ The people were in great confusion and at odds with each other. They went to the camp of Jamāl al-Dīn the vizier. ⁵⁰² It was pillaged and he fled to me. The amīrs and prominent people sought me out. When I rode up, they asked: "What does the malik think?" We made our way to the tent of Malik Alp Arslan b. Mahmūd and there I spoke as follows: "The people, the atabeg and I are your servants and the country belongs to you. We are all your servants and the slaves of the sultan." ⁵⁰³ The people agreed on the malik and Jamāl ⁵⁰⁴

al-Dīn Tughrati(?) was released from the church and taken to Mārdīn.

The people divided into two factions. Salāh al-Dīn⁵⁰⁵ Muhammad al-Yaghī-Sīyanī took Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Atabeg (Zangī) and the Syrian 'askar, went to Syria and took Aleppo, Hamā, Manbij, Harran, Hims and all Zangī's possessions in Syria. Thus Nūr al-Dīn became established there.⁵⁰⁶ As for us, we took the malik and the 'askar⁵⁰⁷ of Diyār Rabī'a and made our way to Mosul.

When we arrived in Sinjār, the malik ran away, making for the Jazīra. My brother Tāj al-Dīn Abū Tāhir Yahyā,⁵⁰⁸ may God have mercy on him, and 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Dubaisī caught up with him, made promises to him and brought him back to the camp, and then continued down to Mosul. Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī b. Zangī came from the town of Shahrāzūr⁵⁰⁹ which had been given to him as an iqṭā' by the sultan and he took possession of the whole of Diyār Rabī'a. The malik was taken to the citadel of al-Thalū at Sinjār.⁵¹⁰ Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī took Mosul and the whole country. He appointed as vizier Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. al-Isfahānī⁵¹¹ who had been mustaufī of the dīwān in his father's time and (f.172b) he granted the Jazīra as an iqṭā' to 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Dubaisī.⁵¹² He became established in the land.⁵¹³

Salāh al-Dīn and Asad al-Dīn Shīrkūh assumed responsibility for Amir Nūr al-Dīn, whilst he appointed Majd al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. al-Dāya as hājib. The latter's mother had been the wet-nurse of Nūr al-Dīn, which was a post of some standing, whilst Majd al-Dīn had served him from his youth onwards. When Nūr al-Dīn took power, he handed command back to him and made him governor of Aleppo. He then

established his position in Syria.

A few days after the murder of Zangī, the Armenian population of Edessa attacked the Muslim inhabitants of the city, killing a number of them. 'Izz al-Dīn Dubaisī and Ḥassān, lord of Manbij, arrived with a group of Turcomans. They joined forces against the city, and plundered and conquered it, killing a great number of people. A group of the conquerers remained in the city.⁵¹⁴

At the time of the murder of Zangī, al-Sa'id Ḥusām al-Dīn was in Mayyāfāriqīn. The news reached him one afternoon when he was in the citadel garden, whereupon he left immediately. Before that day, he had received the news that his son Jamāl al-Dīn had been arrested and this had distressed him greatly. When he heard the news that Zangī had been murdered, he went to Ḥanī and laid siege to the town for a time and then took possession of it. Its ruler was Amir Ghāzī b. al-Mihri. Ḥusām al-Dīn took Ḥanī on 23 Rabī' II 541. Thereafter he went and seized al-Sīwān, Jabal Jūr and Dhu'l-Qarnain before going down to take Shabakhtān,⁵¹⁵ al-Muwazzar,⁵¹⁶ Tall Mauzan,⁵¹⁷ Jamalīn⁵¹⁷ and Rā's 'Ain al-Khābūr.⁵¹⁸ He then returned home. That year I was in Mārdīn.

Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan went and took Arqanīn, Charmūk, Tall Khūm, al-Halār and all the fortresses which Zangī had taken from his father, Amir Dā'ūd.⁵¹⁹ He took the eastern side of Is'ird as well as Bahmard, Bātāsā, Tanzī, al-Rūq, Qatalbas, the town of Sāf and the citadel of al-Haithum which is in the mountainous area of the Tūr⁵²⁰ 'Abdīn.

The lord of Akhlāt, the Shāh-i Arman,⁵²¹ went down and took Khīzān, al-Ma'dan, Īrūn and the whole area which Zangī had taken from Amir Ya'qūb.⁵²²

In this year, which was 542, al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn struck copper coins, after I had gone to al-Ma'dan and bought copper for the coins.⁵²³

In (5)43 Arslan Toghmish b. Dā'ūd died.⁵²⁴ Al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn laid siege to Is'ird for several days and took possession of it. He also took Bātāsā.⁵²⁵ Jamāl al-Dīn Mahmūd, lord of Āmid, and Jamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim b. Nīsān, who was with him at Is'ird, had joined his service.⁵²⁶ After Husām al-Dīn had taken Is'ird, he returned to Mayyāfāriqīn. After a while he handed Is'ird back to Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan who during this period had taken Mīzgard. Hadiyya Khatun returned to Mayyāfāriqīn.⁵²⁷

In this year al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn and Zangī's son, Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī, quarrelled and Saif al-Dīn plundered the town of Mārdīn⁵²⁸ and (took) a number of the mamlūks⁵²⁹ of Husām al-Dīn.

In this year the khatun,⁵³⁰ daughter of 'Izz al-Dīn Saltuq, lady of Akhlāt, came to Hīsn Kaifā on her way to the Hījāz.⁵³¹ Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan gave her hospitality (f.173a) and spared no effort in his kind treatment of her. (Then) the vizier Bahā' al-Dīn and Athīr al-Dīn 'Abbād and 'Alam al-Dīn b. Tabar, the qādī of Arjish, arrived and stayed in the house of al-Mu'ayyid b. Mukhtar in Mayyāfāriqīn, remaining several days. Al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn got in touch with Fakhr al-Dīn, they stopped the khatun from going to the

⁵³²
Hijāz, which was what the Shāh-i Arman had asked them to do, and they put pressure on the khatun, as a result of which they all went back to Akhlāt.

In this year al-Mu'ayyid al-Mustaufī Abu'l-Hasan al-Mubārak b. Mukhtar died. ⁵³³ He was the mutawallī of the dīwān, with al-Muhadhdhib al-'Irāqī as ⁵³⁴ mushrif for him. Ibn Mukhtar was buried in Mārdīn in the church which he had built and he was succeeded by his son, ⁵³⁵ al-Ajall Karīm al-Daula Abū Mansūr Khālīd, who adopted as a laqab the laqab of his father, ⁵³⁶ Mu'ayyid al-Daula Karīm al-Mulk. He remained within his conditions of service and followed what was incumbent upon him to do. (Then) he took sole command and went beyond what people expected of him, with all administrative matters coming under his control.

It is reported that in 542 the caliph al-Hāfiz ⁵³⁷ died in Egypt and was succeeded by his son al-Mansūr Ismā'īl, whose laqab was al-Zāfir, ⁵³⁸ but the ruler was the amīr al-juyūsh, al-'Ādil (b.) al-Sallār from (Ms. illegible), ⁵³⁹ who ⁵⁴⁰ stabilised the state and put the army in order. Al-Zāfir became established as caliph.

It is reported that in 542 Atabeg Ghāzī seized the qādī Kamāl al-Dīn ⁵⁴¹ and Tāj al-Dīn, the sons of 'Abdallāh al-Sharazūrī. He ⁵⁴² (Kamāl al-Dīn) had kept control of the state since the murder of Zangī. The vizier, Jamāl al-Dīn and Zain al-Dīn ⁵⁴³ (all) had a hand in their arrest. After Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī had seized them, they were taken to the citadel of Mosul. He summoned from al-Rahba the qādī Najm al-Dīn Abū 'Alī b. Bahā' al-Dīn b. al-Hasan b. 'Alī b. al-Qāsim al-Shahrazūrī, who administered ⁵⁴⁴ the law there. When Bahā' al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī had died in 532 in

al-Raqqā as we have already mentioned, his son the qādī Najm al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan b. 'Alī took over as qādī of the whole of the atabeg's territories. The nephew of Bahā' al-Dīn, Shams al-Dīn Abū Aḥmad, succeeded at Mosul. Kamāl al-Dīn became qādī of Naṣībīn and qādī al-'askar. Tāj al-Dīn Abū Ṭāhir took over as qādī of the Jazīra and Sharaf al-Dīn, the brother of Bahā' al-Dīn, became qādī of Sinjār. All these people exercised independent control, without deputies. (This came about) because they had all been in these posts as deputies for Bahā' al-Dīn and when Bahā' al-Dīn died, these men took over the places in question (in their own right).⁵⁴⁵

Najm al-Dīn, the son of Bahā' al-Dīn, ruled all the remaining territories with the qādīs as his deputies. He remained (in power) until 533, when Shams al-Dīn Abū Aḥmad took over in Mosul as chief qādī.⁵⁴⁶ Having paid money to Najm al-Dīn he took the post of qādī of Mosul in addition to what he already had.

The situation remained like that until 535 when Najm al-Dīn, (who was now) mutawallī of Naṣībīn, was seized. He was mulcted, imprisoned and severely tortured. (f.173b) About 130,000 Amīrī dīnārs⁵⁴⁷ were extorted from him. Kamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Abdallāh al-Shāhrazūrī took control of the whole area, and seizing power independently, administered the law, the country and the troops. Everything was handed back to Kamāl al-Dīn until the death of Zangī, as we have already mentioned.

Najm al-Dīn remained in prison for four years until the qādī Kamāl al-Dīn obtained his release and appointed him qādī of al-Raḥba,

(an office which he had held) in the days of his father Bahā' al-Dīn. He remained in the post until Kamāl al-Dīn was arrested, as we have already mentioned. (Then) Najm al-Dīn came and took over Mosul, appointing his eldest son Bahā' al-Dīn in al-Rahba, as we have already said.⁵⁴⁸ Najm al-Dīn established himself in Mosul and Kamāl al-Dīn and Tāj al-Dīn stayed imprisoned for a time in the citadel at Mosul.

The imām, the caliph al-Muqtafi, may God's mercy be upon him, sent messengers to Mosul and obtained permission for the two of them to be sent back to their homes. Najm al-Dīn put two Khurāsānī guards at each of the two men's doors so that no-one could go in or out and he took the son of Kamāl al-Dīn Abū Aḥmad al-Jalāl,⁵⁴⁹ and the son of Tāj al-Dīn Abū'l-Faḍā'il al-Diyā',⁵⁵⁰ and they were imprisoned in the citadel at Mosul. Najm al-Dīn acquired sole power as qādī of Mosul.⁵⁵¹ He gave 'Izz al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Dubaisī the Jazīra as an iqtā' and appointed a qādī there whose name was Ibn Hamza and who came from Daqūqā.⁵⁵²

It is reported that in 536 the vizier Nizām al-Dīn Abū Ja'far, whom another report calls al-Muzaffar Muḥammad b. al-Za'im b. Jahīr, was appointed as vizier to the caliph, after the sultan's permission to dismiss Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī had been obtained. Qawām al-Dīn b. Sadaqa was made treasurer as we have already mentioned.⁵⁵³ The vizier remained in office until 541, when he went to Mecca, performed the pilgrimage and then returned to Baghdad.

In this year Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Tāhir b. 'Aqīl b. Tāhir b. Nubāta set out on the pilgrimage. When he arrived in Baghdad, he

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pronounced a judicial decision in the presence of the vizier Nizām al-Dīn and ⁵⁵⁵ Sadīd al-Daula b. al-Anbārī, may God have mercy on them both. He made another visit after the state officials of the caliph had assembled and the caliph put a robe of honour on him. He was attended by the qādīs and Abu'l-Fath b. al-'Umrānī. After ⁵⁵⁶ the vizier had returned to Baghdad, he remained (in power) for a while before being dismissed from the vizierate. ⁵⁵⁷ Qawām al-Dīn b. Sadaqa succeeded him as vizier and ⁵⁵⁸ Za'im al-Dīn b. Ja'far took over as treasurer, whilst al-Ajall Jamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar b. Hiba inherited the dīwān.

It is reported that in 543 the khatun, Fātima, wife of the caliph al-Muqtafī, died in Baghdad. ⁵⁵⁹ In 543 Shaikh Sharaf al-Dīn b. Sa'd b. ⁵⁶⁰ 'Asrūn came from Mosul and concluded the marriage between Zumurrud Khatun, daughter of al-Sa'id Husām al-Dīn, (f.174a) and Atabeg Ghāzī. ⁵⁶¹ The engagement had been in the citadel of Mayyāfāriqīn for (a dowry of) 20,000 dīnārs, ⁵⁶² with Shaikh 'Izz al-Shuyūkh Abu'l-Qāsim b. Habashī as wālī. ⁵⁶³

In Sha'bān 543 'Izz al-Daula Abū Naṣr b. Nīsān came to Mayyāfāriqīn and concluded the marriage between Safiyya Khatun, daughter of al-Sa'id Husām al-Dīn, and Jamāl al-Dīn Shams al-Mulūk Maḥmūd b. Il-aldī, lord of Āmid, for (a dowry of) 5,000 dīnārs with the khatīb Tāj al-'Ulamā' al-Khaṣṣlaqī (?) as the wālī. ⁵⁶⁴ He took her to Āmid in the last few days of Sha'bān.

In 543 Amir Bahā' al-Dīn Sevinch b. Kuhmīsh (?) and the vizier Diyā' al-Dīn came on behalf of Amir Fakhr al-Dīn Daulat-Shāh b. Toghan Arslan, lord of Arzan and Bitlīs, and drew up a marriage

contract between (him and) Naura Khatun, daughter of al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn, for 50,000 dīnārs and the wālī was present and the marriage (contract was drawn up) in Mayyāfāriqīn.

In 538 Ḥusām al-Daula Qurtī had died in Arzan and was succeeded by his brother Shams al-Din Yāqūt Arslan who held power until 540.⁵⁶⁵ He sent his brother Daulat-Shāh to work for Atabeg Zangī when he passed on his way to take the territory of Amir Dā'ūd after Dā'ūd died. Then Yāqūt Arslan died on a Saturday at the beginning of Ramadān 540. Diyā' al-Dīn Ayyūb went to Zangī's camp and Amir Daulat-Shāh whose laqab was Fakhr al-Dīn, came and, having passed through Mayyāfāriqīn with Diyā' al-Dīn, went to Arzan and took possession of the area. He assumed sole command and conquered all the territory of his father and his brothers. Diyā' al-Dīn Ayyūb had married Daulat-Shāh's mother. Daulat-Shāh joined up with al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn and in Dhu'l-Ḥijja they (Daulat-Shāh's officials) came to Mayyāfāriqīn and fetched Naura Khatun and took her to Arzan, the wedding having taken place in Mayyāfāriqīn.⁵⁶⁶

In 543 Tāj al-Dīn Abū Sālīm Tāhir b. Nubāta went to the Ḥijāz. When he arrived in Baghdad he went to the dīwān of the caliph.⁵⁶⁷ In 543 the vizier Makīn al-Dīn al-Misrī returned to Mayyāfāriqīn where al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn appointed him vizier. That year I was mutawallī⁵⁶⁸ ishrāf outside the town of Mayyāfāriqīn. After a few days, Makīn al-Dīn seized al-Mu'ayyid and al-Muhadhdhib and tortured them in the citadel for a few days. Then he appointed al-'Amīd b. Abī Tāhir b. al-Muhtasib to inspect the dīwān. He held office for only two days before al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn gave orders that he should be dismissed,

slapping him, shaving off his beard, putting him on a donkey and leading him round the town. He was (then) banished and driven from the town. After a few days, the vizier left one afternoon with his ghulam in attendance, went round the town and then made for the Hisn Kaifā road and cleared off. When al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn was told that the vizier had fled, he said "He has taken nothing from us, so do not go out looking for him." So he got away and the following morning al-Mu'ayyid and al-Muhadhdhab were reinstated in the diwān, their position became established and they regained the highest office.

It is reported that in 544 Zangī's son Ghāzī went (f.174b) as far as Nasībīn⁵⁶⁹ and sent Amir Julduk (?) al-Khalīfatī to Mārdīn, whence he brought Zumurrud Khatun as far as Nasībīn, accompanied by Samsām al-Dīn.⁵⁷⁰ (Then) Zangī's son Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī fell ill⁵⁷¹ and she was taken to Mosul where she stayed in Darb Durraj in the house of the khatun, the daughter of Sukmān⁵⁷² and wife of Atabeg Zangī. Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī, who was seriously ill, came and stayed in Mosul. He had sent people to Baghdad who brought back the doctor Abu'l-Barakāt. Although this man arrived and treated him for several days, he died in Safar 544.⁵⁷³

His brother, Qutb al-Dīn Maudūd b. Zangī,⁵⁷⁴ took command and stabilised his position. The state was administered by the vizier Jamāl al-Dīn, Zain al-Dīn and 'Izz al-Dīn.⁵⁷⁵ Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī was buried in the 'Imādiyya madrasa.⁵⁷⁶

After the death of Saif al-Dīn, the qādī Kamāl al-Dīn and his brother were released from their homes and summoned to the maidān.⁵⁷⁷

That year I was in Mosul working for al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn by selling iron, and I was in the maidān (that day). The vizier Jamāl al-Dīn had sent them two donkeys, so they came riding into the maidān in Mosul itself. When they came through the gate of the maidān - having changed their clothes⁵⁷⁸ and riding without tarhas⁵⁷⁹ - they dismounted. When Atabeg Qutb al-Dīn saw them, he went towards them and dismounted to (speak to) them. They greeted him, complained to him about his brother and congratulated him on his assumption of power. Then they re-mounted and stood near him, remaining (there) an hour, before returning home. They removed the soldiers from their doors. The two brothers began riding out every week in the service of Qutb al-Dīn, Zain al-Dīn and Jamāl al-Dīn. After a while they approached al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn and arranged matters so that Atabeg Qutb al-Dīn was married to Zumurrud Khatun after the completion of her period of widowhood.⁵⁸⁰ Qutb al-Dīn consummated the marriage with her in Mosul.

At the end of (5)44 al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn attacked the city of Dārā but the wālī refused to surrender it. After he had laid siege to it for a while, the wālī surrendered it to him on Wednesday, 12 Dhu'l-Hijja. After he had taken possession of the city he appointed the hājib Ibn Buqsh (?) al-Dunaisirī as governor there. I was in the camp, working for al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn, until he conquered the city.⁵⁸¹

In this year, that is (5)44, the domed bazaar in Mayyāfāriqīn was burned. (Also) in this year, in Dhu'l-Hijja, there was disagreement between the sons of the 'amīd Tāj al-Dīn Abū Sālim b. Nubāta. Diyā'

al-Dīn went to Dārā, met Ḥusām al-Dīn, paid his respects and took the post of qādī before returning to Mayyāfāriqīn.

On 12 Muharram 544 Qutb al-Dīn Ḥl-Ghāzī, son of al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn, was born. May both their shadows be preserved.

In 544 the Christians took Almeria (f.175a) from the Muslims.⁵⁸² The city was plundered and the loot was taken and sold in the lands of Egypt, the Sāhil and Syria.

In 545 Ṣamsām al-Dīn Bahrām b. al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn was married to Zangī's daughter, the sister of Qutb al-Dīn, and I was in Mosul at the time of the marriage.

In 545 the Bedouin, the Banū Za'b and others, Zubāb and Baṭrān, plundered the last caravan of the pilgrimage, taking all their possessions between Mecca and Medina at a place called Sadd, and a great number of people perished.⁵⁸³ This is an occurrence which is unheard of except in the distant past. Only a very small number of people escaped alive. That year I was living in Mosul.

Ḥusām al-Dīn with his sons conquered all the amīrs of Diyār Bakr, Diyār Rabī'a and Armenia and attached them to himself.⁵⁸⁴

After Atabeg Zangī (had been killed) no amīr other than Ḥusām al-Dīn⁵⁸⁵ remained independent, unopposed, unchallenged and governing alone.

In 545 Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur died in Damascus.⁵⁸⁶ Also in that year Nūr al-Dīn Mahmūd b. Zangī, ruler of Syria, met the Franks and

defeated them roundly.⁵⁸⁷ Joscelin's son, the lord of Edessa and its surrounding area,⁵⁸⁸ was taken prisoner and all his lands were seized. (Then) Nūr al-Dīn took Tall Bāshir and its environs and Tall Khālīd and its neighbourhood.⁵⁸⁹ Husām al-Dīn seized Sumaisāt⁵⁹⁰ and on 6 Rabi'ā I 545 took al-Bīra.⁵⁹¹

In the defeat in (5)46 the hājib⁵⁹² 'Umar al-Khāss, who was in the employ of Nūr al-Dīn, was killed. Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan⁵⁹³ took Hisn Mansūr and Bābalū,⁵⁹⁴ both in the territory of Joscelin's son, and seized the citadel of Gargar from the Armenians.⁵⁹⁵ Sultan Qilīch Arslan took Ma'rash and Kaisūn⁵⁹⁶ and its neighbourhood.⁵⁹⁷ Joscelin's son had no territory left except Qal'at al-Rūm which Husām al-Dīn would have taken if he had lived.⁵⁹⁸

In 545 Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur died in Damascus.⁵⁹⁹

In 546 I travelled to Akhlāt and went to Baghdad again, where I arrived on 27 Ramadān, and I stayed there (for a while). In 546 al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn⁶⁰⁰ circumcised the sons of Amir Jamāl al-Dīn Tughrati (?) in Mayyāfāriqīn.

In (5)47 an edict came to al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn from the sultan and the caliph, which was read from the minbar throughout the land.⁶⁰¹ Robes of honour arrived (too). Two nights later, that is to say, the night of Monday, 22 Rabi'ā I 547, the minbar area and the arcades of the mosque in Mayyāfāriqīn⁶⁰² collapsed.⁶⁰³

(In this year) I was in Baghdad where I met Qutb al-Dīn al-

'Abbādī the preacher. I was in his company for a time and I wrote down a lot of his discourses.⁶⁰⁴

At the end of (5)44 'Aun al-Dīn al-Muzaffar Muhammad b. Yahyā b. Hubaira became the caliph's vizier after the dismissal of Qawām al-Dīn b. Sadaqa.⁶⁰⁵ 'Aun al-Dīn became established in the post. He had (previously) been in charge of the dīwān al-zimām wa'l-istifā.⁶⁰⁶ Jalāl al-Dīn (f.175b) b. Ja'far, the brother of the treasurer, took over the dīwān al-zimām. Their father (Ja'far) had come from the small town of Ba'qūbā and had served as vizier to Mujāhid al-Dīn Bihruz⁶⁰⁷ until he died. The caliph remained in control of affairs.

In (5)46 Sultan Mas'ūd arrived in Baghdad, where he stayed all winter.⁶⁰⁸ I saw him that year in Baghdad when I (also) saw the elephant, the parrot and the monkey.⁶⁰⁹ The sultan moved on to Hamadhān, where he fell ill in Jumādā I (5)47. He hung on until 11 Jumādā II when he died outside Hamadhān. He was (then) taken to Isfahān.⁶¹⁰ I remained in Baghdad until 1 Rajab that year before I went to Mayyāfāriqīn. When we reached Takrīt the news broke that the sultan had died and the people were in turmoil.⁶¹¹ We moved on to Mosul.

The caliph rose up in rebellion, occupied the sultan's palace and seized control of Baghdad.⁶¹² Mas'ūd Bilāl, who was shihna in Baghdad, fled to Takrīt.⁶¹³ He had organised the hajj for some years and had treated the people with great kindness and leniency.⁶¹⁴ The caliph mobilised the junūd and the 'askars⁶¹⁵ and he removed the mu'an⁶¹⁶ and the a'shār which the sultan's officials had taken. He was kind to the people and treated his subjects justly. He acquired Iraq and appropriated all its revenues.⁶¹⁷ The sultan, the royal ladies and the

sultan's officials in Iraq had possessed an income (sufficient to support) 20,000 horsemen. So all that reverted to the caliph.

When Sultan Mas'ūd died outside Hamadhān, Sultan Muhammad-Shāh b. Mahmūd, who was his son-in-law - being married to his daughter - was in Khūzistān. The brother of Muhammad-Shāh, Malik-Shāh b. Mahmūd, was in the camp,⁶¹⁸ so Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri⁶¹⁹ made him sultan for a while.⁶²⁰ When Muhammad-Shāh heard (about that) he left Khūzistān, went to Hamadhān and seized the sultanate, whereupon his brother Malik-Shāh went and took Khūzistān, Ahwāz and part of Basra.⁶²¹ After a while Muhammad-Shāh killed Khāṣṣ Beg b. Palang-Eri and ruled independently as sultan.⁶²²

Sultan Mas'ūd, may God have mercy on him, was a just sultan,⁶²³ of mild disposition and so generous that he divided out all his territory amongst his associates, leaving for himself only the name of sultan. In spite of his mildness, he never fought anyone without defeating them.⁶²⁴ Amongst the great amīrs he killed those whom no-one else could have slain: Mengü-Bars,⁶²⁵ Qaracha al-Sāqī,⁶²⁶ lord of Fārs and Shīrāz, and 'Abbās, lord of Rayy. He (also) killed al-Rāshid,⁶²⁷ al-Mustarshid, Dubais, Boz-Aba,⁶²⁸ 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Toghan Yürek⁶²⁹ and a group of great amīrs and generals. Mas'ūd led a very happy life. When he died, he left three young sons; Muhammad-Shāh became established as sultan and took Hamadhān and Isfahān and its environs without being mentioned in the khutba in Iraq.

It is reported that in (5)47 Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan took the fortress of Gargar from the Armenians.⁶³⁰ In 547 Jalāl al-Mulūk Kōpek

b. Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Jabbār (f.176a) b. Artuq married Hadiyya Khatun, daughter of al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn, through the good offices of his mother the princess, daughter of Ridwān and wife of Ḥusām al-Dīn.

In (5)45 the vizier Zain al-Dīn As'ad b. 'Abd al-Khāliq, the brother of al-Mu'ayyid Zain al-Dīn, the sultan's vizier, had come to Mārdīn and stayed with Ḥusām al-Dīn who appointed him vizier. He remained in the dīwān, assisted by al-Mu'ayyid the mustaufī and al-Muhadhdhib, and appointing as his deputy a scribe whose laqab was al-Shihāb.⁶³¹ Zain al-Dīn became established as vizier until 546.

In the year 544, Safiyya Khatun had died in Āmid. At the beginning of (5)46 al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn went and camped before Āmid and demanded from the inhabitants the marriage settlement of Safiyya Khatun.⁶³² He remained (there) for a while and then left Āmid and went back to Mārdīn.⁶³³ After a few days Ibn Nīsān sent two men who stayed in the citadel at Mārdīn for a few days (secretly) searching for the thief.⁶³⁴ Then the vizier Zain al-Dīn went riding one day and on his way up to the citadel, he passed through a narrow place where he was attacked by these two men, one of whom hit him on the head with an axe so that he fell (to the ground). A group of people who were with the vizier went looking for the two men, who said to them:- "What do you want? We will go up with you to the amīr." So they went up with the group to the gate of the citadel, with the citizens behind them. When they had gone into the citadel to see the amīr, they said: "We have killed the vizier." He said: "Why?" to which they replied "We were ordered to do so." The majority of people said that Ibn Nīsān had plotted and killed

him. Amir Husām al-Dīn ordered that the two men should be executed on the vizier's grave. He was buried in Mārdīn. The two men were Ismā'īlīs.

Husām al-Dīn attacked Āmid with renewed vigour. Bahā' al-Dīn Aus, the vizier of Akhlāt, came and met al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn outside Āmid, talked to him and interceded on behalf of the people of Āmid. Then Bahā' al-Dīn went into Āmid, met Mu'ayyid al-Dīn b. Nīsān and arranged the matter with him, (whereupon) Mu'ayyid al-Dīn went out to the amīr and they made peace. The people of Āmid went out to al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn and they became his subjects and under his command. (Then) he left them.

In the last ten days of Rajab 546, Naura Khatun, daughter of Husām al-Dīn, died at the house of the lord of Arzan, leaving a son who outlived her by a few days before he (too) died. She was buried in Arzan. Al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn grieved at her death.⁶³⁵

After the murder of the vizier Zain al-Dīn, Husām al-Dīn remained without a vizier, making do with al-Ajall Mu'ayyid al-Daula Abū Mansūr Khālīd b. al-Mubārak b. Mukhtar until he (Husām al-Dīn) died. Mu'ayyid al-Daula performed his task most admirably.

Al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn remained in power until Thursday 2 Dhu'l-Qa'da 548 when he died in Mārdīn.⁶³⁶ His illness lasted from Saturday until Thursday 2 Dhu'l-Qa'da. He was buried in the mashhad below Mārdīn. He ruled Mayyāfāriqīn for 30 years and Mārdīn for 32 years. (f.176b) May God be pleased with him. Husām al-Dīn was a knowledgeable amīr, well-versed in all the branches of religious

knowledge. He liked the 'ulamā', maintaining close contact with them, and he honoured skilled craftsmen in every trade. He was generous, munificent and bountiful. He only contemplated killing when it was a necessity and he provided protection and security from oppression to an extent which was unknown (even) amongst the pure-blooded Arabs. Amir Abū Bakr, lord of Nasībīn, had come to him when he fled from Atabeg Zangī. Husām al-Dīn gave him refuge and when Zangī asked him to hand him over, he would not do so. A serious disagreement between them ensued and Zangī took Dārā and plundered the country. Although al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn lost a lot of money, he still would not hand Abū Bakr over and that man was the reason for the estrangement between al-Sa'īd and Zangī. When Abū Bakr left Husām al-Dīn, he went to Sultan Mas'ūd who seized him and sent him to Zangī. Zangī (then) killed him.⁶³⁷

Al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn, may God have mercy on him, used to show deference to the members of important families and to look after their affairs. He did not contemplate the uprooting of the big families. If a member of the turbaned class and the 'ulamā' came to him, he would give him hospitality, honour him, treat him kindly and minister to all his needs. If he detected any knowledge of the religious sciences in a man he would bid him approach, present gifts to him and ask him about what he knew of his science or craft.

When Husām al-Dīn died, I was in the province of the Gurj in the service of the king of the Abkhāz, Dīmītrī b. Dā'ūd, the king of the whole area, for I had come to Tiflīs in (5)48 and entered his employ. I accompanied him to the province of al-Lān and of the

Abkhāz and to Darband. One day we were near the town of Darband - it was 4 Muharram 549 - when the king summoned me and said: "Your master Husām al-Dīn has died. I received the news today."

A number of people held the office of governor of Mayyāfāriqīn during the lifetime of Husām al-Dīn. Amongst them were al-Hājib Abū Bakr, Bairam and 'Uthmān b. Khumar-Tash al-Hajj, each of whom was governor once, except for al-Hājib Bairam who held office twice. Thereafter al-Hājib 'Abd al-Karīm became governor, and was then dismissed. (He was succeeded by) al-Hājib Yūsuf Īnal, who was subsequently dismissed and given an iqtā'⁶³⁸ below Dārā which Atabeg Zangī took from him. Then a mamlūk⁶³⁹ belonging to Husām al-Dīn whose name was Oghuzoghlu became governor of Mayyāfāriqīn for a while and he died (in office). Then Amir Qaimāz, the eunuch, occupied the citadel with al-Hājib Bairam for a while and was succeeded by al-Hājib Yūsuf Īnal who held office a second time and remained in the governorship until 3 Rajab (5)39 when he died and was buried in Mayyāfāriqīn. Then Nāsir al-Daula Sandal became governor in Dhu'l-Qa'da (5)39 and he remained (in office) until Rabī' I (5)43, when he died. (Then) his son Ghars al-Daula Īnal remained in the burj al-mulk and al-Hājib Bairam held the citadel for a while. (Then) Īnal assumed sole control as governor and he remained in office until the late al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn died, as we have related, God willing (!).

I will relate the genealogy of the Artuqids and what information has come to me about them and what descendants remain of (f.177a) Amir Artuq, may God have mercy on him.⁶⁴⁰

It is reported that when Amir Artuq died he left a number of children; amongst them were Amir Sukmān, Najm al-Dīn ʾIl-Ghāzī, Bahrām, ʿAbd al-Jabbār, Siyāwush, Alp-Yaruq, another son called Bektash and another whose name was Alp-Tash. These sons are the ones who had children whose descendants have remained until now in Diyār Bakr. Artuq left other children besides these, but as I have not heard that they have descendants alive I have omitted to mention them.

As for Sukmān, he took Ḥiṣn Kaifā (and he) remained (there) for a while; then he died in 506. He left Amir Rukn al-Daula Dāʾūd, and Amir Ibrāhīm, who ruled Ḥiṣn Kaifā after his father for a while and (then) died. Rukn al-Daula Dāʾūd and Azar Khatun took the city after Ibrāhīm and Rukn al-Daula ruled Ḥiṣn Kaifā, subsequently conquering other places too. Dāʾūd left four sons; Arslan Toghmish, Qara Arslan, Sulaimān and Mahmūd. As for Arslan Toghmish, he died, having taken possession of Mīzgard after his father. Arslan Toghmish left a son by the daughter of al-Saʿīd Ḥusām al-Dīn but the son died shortly after his father. As for Sulaimān, he died leaving a son called Yaʿqūb, who is now in the service of al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn, and another son who is in the service of Jamāl al-Dīn in Ḥanī. As for Mahmūd, he took ⁶⁴¹Tanzī and al-Qarshiyya. When he died, he left a son called Dāʾūd who is now in the service of the sons of his uncle Fakhr al-Dīn in Ḥiṣn Kaifā. As for Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan, he took over the whole of his father's territory after the latter had died, as we have already mentioned.

When he died, he left two sons; Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad and ʿImād al-Dīn Abū Bakr. It was Nūr al-Dīn who succeeded him and who is

now in power. Fakhr al-Dīn (also) left a number of daughters.

As for Bahram b. Artuq, he left Amir Nūr al-Daula Balak who took Khartabirt, Bālū and its surrounding area until Shams al-Daula Sulaimān b. ʾl-Ghāzī seized these possessions from him. When Sulaimān died, Amir Dāʾūd took them. Balak had married Princess Parkhundā Khatun, daughter of Malik Ridwān, after Najm al-Dīn ʾl-Ghāzī, and it was Balak who (actually) consummated his marriage with her. He seized territory near the Euphrates and waged war against the Franks until he was killed below Manbij as we have already mentioned. He left a daughter whom Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan married and he died before her.

As for Siyāwush b. Artuq, he left Amir Yūnus al-Harāmī whom I saw in the service of the late al-Saʿīd Husām al-Dīn. Yūnus al-Harāmī left sons, some of whom are in the service of Fakhr al-Dīn in Ḥiṣn Kaifā. Siyāwush also left Sevinch who is in Ḥanī in the service of Jamāl al-Dīn, the brother of al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn. Sevinch married the daughter of Amir Shīrbārīk by whom he had a son whose name was Shāh Malik. After she died he married one of her sisters.

As for Alp-Yaruq b. Artuq, he left sons, amongst whom was Amir ʿAlī, the malik of Jabal Jūr, who begat Amir Maudūd - who was (also) called Shīrbārīk - and another son who died, whose name was Mahmūd. ʿAlī also had a son whose name was (Ms.lacuna) who is in Khartabirt. Shāh Malik married the daughter of Shīrbārīk in 507 (sic). Shīrbārīk sired Sevinch and Ismāʿīl and Toghrīl Beg and a number of daughters. He (also) had a son, whose name was Zangī, from a slave girl. (f.177b)

Zangī remained in the service of his father for a while, and (then) went to Egypt where he died in the reign of Shāwar.⁶⁴² As for Toghril Beg, he died in Ḥiṣn Kaifā and was brought to Mayyāfāriqīn. As for Sevinch, who was the eldest of them, he married Safiyya Khatun, daughter of Malik Ridwān, and he died leaving no issue. As for Ismā'īl, he had two sons and he is in the service of al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn. Shīrbārīk remained in the service of Malik Husām al-Dīn until the latter died. (Then) he transferred to the service of Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan and remained with him for a time. (Thereafter) he returned to the service of Mālik Najm al-Dīn and he died in Rajab of the year 566. He was buried in a village belonging to them in the lowest of graves.

As for 'Abd al-Jabbār b. Artuq, he left three sons; Yaghī-Sīyan Arslan, and Sulaimān. As for Yaghī-Sīyan, he moved on and served in the province of Akhlāt with the daughter of Sukmān. Whilst he was there, he had two sons, Amir Ahmad and another who had the laqab 'Izz al-Dīn. He moved to the service of Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan in Ḥiṣn Kaifā with whom he attained a most powerful position. Fakhr al-Dīn married him to the daughter of his brother Arslan Toghmish. Yaghī-Sīyan died of epilepsy, leaving a son who is now in the service of the sons of Fakhr al-Dīn.

As for Alp-Tash, he left Amir 'Alī al-Harāmī who died in the service of Husām al-Dīn. He left two sons, one of whom was Abū Bakr who became a Sūfī and was a faqīr. He had a long life and he is in the service of the descendants of Fakhr al-Dīn in Ḥiṣn Kaifā.

As for Amir Arslan b. 'Abd al-Jabbār, he took Jabal Jūr, Dhu'l-

Qarnain and al-Sīwān. After a while al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn took them from him. He moved to the service of Rukn al-Daula Dā'ūd in Hīsn Kaifā where he died. He left sons, amongst whom were Bulāq and Mahmūd and daughters. He gave one daughter in marriage in his lifetime to Za'īm al-Daula Musayyib b. Mālik, lord of al-Raqqā, and their descendants remained in the service of Fakhr al-Dīn. Amir Bulāq moved to the service of al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn where he died.

As for Sulaimān, whose laqab was Badr al-Daula, he conquered Aleppo and married the khatun, the princess, daughter of Ridwān, who was (also) the wife of Amir Balak. He had a son by her whose name was Kōpek and whose laqab was Jalāl al-Mulūk. When Aleppo was taken from him, he went into the service of al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn who gave him the town of Qalb as an ⁶⁴³iqṭā'. He fortified the town and it remained in his service until he died. The princess came to Mārdīn after Sulaimān's death accompanied by his son. She settled in Mārdīn and al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn married her as we have related. He gave her son Jalāl al-Mulūk in marriage to his daughter, Hadiyya Khatun, in (5)47. Jalāl al-Mulūk lived until 554 when he died outside Nasībīn as we shall relate, if God wills.

As for the other son called Bektash, he sired Arslan Toghmish who moved to the service of Atabeg Tugh-Tegin, lord of Damascus, for he had a most powerful position with him. He married 'Ā'isha Khatun, daughter of the brother of the vizier (f.178a) Muhammad al-Dvīnī, and lived in Damascus until 543 in the service of the descendants of Tugh-Tegin. He went to Mosul and lived in the service of its lord for a short time; then he moved to the service of al-Sa'īd

Husām al-Dīn who honoured him and gave him many iqtā's at the end of (5)44 when he took Dārā. He remained for a short time and then died, leaving three sons. One of them, who had the laqab Shams al-Daula, remained for a period of two years in the service of al-Sa'īd after (the death of) his father and then died.

The other two sons, Mas'ūd and Balak, remained. Mas'ūd remained in the service of al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn for a while before transferring to the service of Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan. As for Balak, he remained in the service of al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn until (5)67. (Then) he became an ascetic, breaking away from worldly things, and he ensconced himself in the Masjid Yāqūt near the Huwa gate at the top of the rabad where he is living to this day.

As for Najm al-Dīn Īl-Ghāzī, he had a number of children, including Ayaz and al-Bazm, both killed in his life-time, and Guhar Khatun.

As for Ayaz, he sired Amir Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ayaz and a daughter from the Khatun whom Sa'īd al-Daula Īl-aldī lord of Āmid, married. Īl-aldī has a son from her in Āmid. As for Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad, he grew up in the service of his uncle al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn who gave him Tall Bashmī as an iqtā'. He was honoured by Husām al-Dīn until the latter died. He remained a while after his death and then went to Syria, to the service of Nūr al-Dīn. Nūr al-Dīn gave him many iqtā's and he has remained in his service until now. Shihāb al-Dīn has three sons who are now in the service of Nūr al-Dīn.

Najm al-Dīn had a son from a concubine. His name was 'Umar. He married her to Amīr the general. His son ('Umar) died leaving no issue. Najm al-Dīn had a son whose name was Nasr from a slave-girl whom he married to the hājib 'Umar al-Khāss. He died and left no issue.

Najm al-Dīn married Guhar Khatun to Saif al-Daula Dubais. She had by him Amir 'Izz al-Dīn Muhammad who remained with her in Mārdīn until Dubais was killed. (Thereafter) he went to al-Hilla where he ruled with his brothers. After a while he returned to the service of al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn. He went to and fro several times and died after his mother. She had died in the year 559 and she was buried in Mārdīn. 'Izz al-Dīn left a son who is now in the service of Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad b. Ayaz.

Najm al-Dīn had a daughter whom he called 'Aina Khatun and whom Amir İl-aldī, lord of Āmid, married. He had by her Jamāl al-Dīn Shams al-Mulūk Mahmūd who is now lord of Āmid. When 'Aina Khatun died, he married the sister of Shihāb al-Dīn as we have related.

Najm al-Dīn had a daughter whose name was Safra Khatun whom Husām al-Daula Qurtī b. Toghan Arslan, lord of Arzan and Bitlīs, married. She died leaving a son whose name is Yaghī-Basan (f.178b) who is now in the service of Fakhr al-Dīn Daulat-Shāh, his uncle.

Najm al-Dīn (also) sired Shams al-Daula Sulaimān, who ruled Mayyāfāriqīn after his father until he (Sulaimān) died. He left

a son called Mahmūd whom I saw in Mārdīn. He was in a very bad way and I don't know what has become of him.

Najm al-Dīn (also) had al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn who was the pride of the house and the head of the family. He took possession of Mārdīn, as we have related, after his father and he took Mayyāfāriqīn after his brother. He remained (there) until he died, leaving children: al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn Alpī who ruled after his father; Jamāl al-Dīn Tughratī (?) to whom his brother gave Hānī, al-Sīwān and Hīṣn Qalb; Samsām al-Dīn Bahrām, lord of Dārā;⁶⁴⁴ Hadiyya Khatun who is with her brother Jamāl al-Dīn in Hānī; Zumurrud Khatun in Mosul - (whose husband) Qutb al-Dīn Maudūd b. Zangī died after her, leaving four children by her, including Malik al-Mulūk Saif Ghāzī b. Maudūd, whom we will mention later, God willing - Safiyya Khatun, wife of the lord of Āmid, and Naura Khatun, wife of the lord of Arzan, who died in his lifetime, as we have already related. May God have mercy on him and be pleased with him. This is what has reached me of the genealogy of those Artuqids that have remained. God knows best what is true.

CHAPTER VII

COMMENTARY ON TRANSLATION OF MS.A OF

TĀRĪKH MAYYĀFĀRIQĪN WA ĀMID

INTRODUCTION TO THE COMMENTARY

General Comments

The commentary on the edition and translation of Ibn al-Azraq's text is inevitably long. The linguistic problems raised by a translation of the text require discussion. Moreover, the author's chaotic chronology and unexplained allusions necessitate constant reference to other primary sources which deal with the historical period under discussion.¹

Place-names present a major problem for an understanding of this text. Explanations or references to geographical works have been given wherever possible. It must be admitted, however, that the exact location of some of the places mentioned by Ibn al-Azraq remains unknown, as Cahen pointed out in his pioneer article on the Artuqids in 1935.

In this commentary, frequent reference has been made to the unpublished section of the historical geography of Ibn Shaddād, which deals with the Jazīra and which concentrates, therefore, on the same areas as Ibn al-Azraq.² It is true that Ibn Shaddād does

¹ The commentary has been kept separate from the translation to which it refers in order to facilitate the reading of the actual narrative.

² Claude Cahen summarised the contents of Ibn Shaddād's work on the Jazīra in his article, "La Djazira au milieu du treizième siècle d'après 'Izz ad-din Ibn Chaddad", Revue des Etudes Islamiques (1934), VIII, 109-116. He did not, however, make full use of the information nor did he link it to the text of Ibn al-Azraq.

not offer precise information on the location of many of the places which both he and Ibn al-Azraq mention, but since Ibn Shaddād's work is a virtually unexploited source it seemed appropriate to record his comments in some detail.

It is unfortunate that so many explanatory notes should be necessary in the first few pages of the commentary - i.e. those which deal with Ibn al-Azraq's account of the reign of ʾĪl-Ghāzī. It is quite apparent that the information on this period available to Ibn al-Azraq is far from complete and that he himself only partially understands it. In an attempt to reduce the number of footnotes in this section of the commentary, references to the extended discussion of this period in the chapter on ʾĪl-Ghāzī have been inserted wherever possible. Similarly, the commentary on the genealogical section (ff.177a-178b) is deliberately brief in order to avoid duplication of the discussion in the notes to the genealogical table.

Another difficulty inherent in Ibn al-Azraq's text is its administrative terminology. With increasing political fragmentation at the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century and the rise of semi-independent dynasties centred in a major city, e.g. the Artuqids at Mārdīn and the Zangids at Mosul, it is difficult to determine the exact meaning of the administrative terms used in connection with these rulers in the chronicles. The actual titles are inherited from the administrative system of the Great Saljuqs but often offices are merged. Ibn al-Azraq uses administrative terms freely but does not see the need to define them. The offices he mentions are discussed wherever possible in the commentary.

List of abbreviations used in the commentary

For full details of these titles, see the bibliography.

Abu'l-Fidā', Mukhtasar = Al-Mukhtasar fī akhbār al-bashar III

Anon. Syr. Chron. = Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, tr. Tritton, JRAS 1933

ʿAwad = Ibn al-Azraq, Tārīkh al-Fāriqī, ed. ʿAwad

al-ʿAzīmī, "Chronique" = Cahen (ed.), "La chronique abrégée d'al-ʿAzīmī" (sic),
JA 1938

Bar Hebraeus, Chronography = The Chronography of Gregory Abū'l Faraj,
tr. Budge

Bosworth, "Iranian World" = Bosworth, "The political and dynastic
history of the Iranian world (A.D. 1000-1217)", Cambridge History
of Iran V

al-Bundārī, Zubdat = Zubdat al-nuṣra, ed. Houtsma

Cahen, "Diyār Bakr" = Cahen, "Le Diyār Bakr au temps des premiers
Urtukides", JA 1935

Cahen, Syrie = Cahen, La Syrie du Nord, 1940

Canard, H'amdānides = Canard, Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdānides, 1953

CHI V = The Cambridge History of Iran, Vol. V, 1968

Dozy, Supplément = Dozy, Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes, 1881

Honigmann, Ostgrenze = Honigmann, Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen
Reiches, 1935

Horst, Staatsverwaltung = Horst, Die Staatsverwaltung der Grossolṣūqen, 1964

al-Ḥusainī, Akhbār = al-Ḥusainī, Akhbār al-daula al-Saljuqiyya, ed.

Iqbāl, 1933

Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Buḥyat = Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Buḥyat al-ṭalab, ed. Sevim, 1976

- Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda = Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubdat al-balab, ed. Dahān, 1954
- Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil = Ibn al-Athīr, al-Kāmil fi’l-tārīkh, ed. Tornberg, 1851-76
- Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs = Ibn al-Athīr, Tārīkh al-daula al-atābakiyya, ed. Tūlaimāt, 1963
- Ibn al-Furāt, Duwal = Ibn al-Furāt, Tārīkh al-Duwal, Vienna Ms II
- Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam = Ibn al-Jauzī, al-Muntazam fī tārīkh al-mulūk wa’l-umam X, 1940
- Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt = Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-a’yān, tr. de Slane, 1843-71
- Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail = Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail tārīkh Dimishq, ed. Amedroz, 1908
- Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra = Ibn Shaddād, al-A’laq al-khaṭīra, Bodleian Ms Marsh 333
- Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, al-Fakhri = Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, al-Fakhri fi’l-adab al-sultāniyya, tr. Amar, 1910
- Le Strange, Baghdad = Le Strange, Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate, 1900
- Le Strange, Lands = Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 1905
- Markwart, Südarmerien = Markwart, Südarmerien und die Tigrisquellen, 1930
- Matthew of Edessa, Chronique = Matthew of Edessa, Chronique, tr. Dulaurier, 1858
- Michael the Syrian, Chronique = Michael the Syrian, Chronique, tr. Chabot, 1899-1914
- Minorsky, "Caucasica I" = Minorsky, "Caucasica in the History of Mayyāfāriqīn", BSOAS 1949
- Minorsky, Studies = Minorsky, Studies in Caucasian History, 1953
- Mustaufī, Guzīda = Ḥamdallāh Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī, Tārīkh-i Guzīda, tr. Defrémery, JA 1848

Rāwandī, Rāḥat = Ṭāwanī, Rāḥat al-sudūr, ed. Iqbāl, 1921

Turan, Doğu Anadolu = Turan, Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi, 1973

Usāma, Memoirs = Usāma, Memoirs, tr. Hitti, repr. 1964

Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı devleti = Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı devleti teşkilatına
medhal, 1941

Yāqūt, "Reisen" = Wüstenfeld, "Jâcûts Reisen", ZDMG 1864

1. Ibn Shaddād names the author of the work from which he borrows his information on Mayyāfāriqīn as Ahmad b. Yūsuf b. ʿAlī b. al-Azraq. He gives the title of the work as the Tārīkh Mayyāfāriqīn wa Āmid (Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f.71b).

Although Āmid is included in the title, Ibn al-Azraq's work concentrates for its local history almost exclusively on Mayyāfāriqīn. Information about Āmid occurs only occasionally. On the other hand, as Ibn Shaddād points out:-

"Most of the time, Āmid, Mayyāfāriqīn, Mārdīn and the fortresses attached to them were ruled as an entity from Mayyāfāriqīn, and Āmid" (ibid.)

The history of these cities was inextricably linked. In the period treated below, it was Mārdīn which dominated Mayyāfāriqīn and Āmid. In his position as town chronicler of Mayyāfāriqīn, Ibn al-Azraq never explicitly states this important fact.

2. The name Īl-Ghāzī is written **الغازي** in Ms.A and **ایلغازی** in Ms.B. A dotted i has been used in the transliteration of this name to remove any erroneous impression that **ال** has any connection with the Arabic definite article. The etymology of the word Īl is discussed by Sir G.L.M.Clauson (An Etymological Dictionary of pre-Thirteenth Century Turkish [Oxford, 1972], 121).
3. The forms **میافارقین** and **میفرقین** are both found in both manuscripts, although the latter is used more frequently. For a discussion of the form **میفرقین**, cf. Chapter III, p.99, n.2.
4. Fakhr al-Daula Abū Nasr Muhammad b. Jahīr held office with the Marwānid ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn until 453/1061-2. In the

following year he became vizier to the caliph al-Qā'im. Nizām al-Mulk intrigued for Ibn Jahīr's dismissal, which he achieved. Ibn Jahīr then went to Malik-Shāh in 476/1083-4 and pointed out to the sultan the advantages of taking Diyār Bakr. Malik-Shāh accordingly sent Ibn Jahīr to that area. The latter laid siege to Mayyāfāriqīn in 478/1085-6 and appropriated the treasures of the Marwānids. The sultan appointed Ibn Jahīr to rule Diyār Bakr in 482/1089-90. Ibn Jahīr died in the following year (cf. C.Cahen, articles "Diyār Bakr" and "Ibn Jahīr", EI²; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, III, pt.1, 286-294; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 93-4).

5. Artuq was one of the military commanders of the Saljuq sultans, Alp Arslan and Malik-Shāh. Malik-Shāh gave him Hulwān as an iqtā' and employed him on military missions in Anatolia, Bahrain and upper Mesopotamia. For his career in more detail, cf. A.Sevim, "Artukluların soyu ve Artuk Bey'in siyasî faaliyetleri", Belleten, cilt XXVI, sayı 101 (1962), 121-47; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, I, 171-2.
6. Artuq had good reason to flee, since he had incurred Malik-Shāh's displeasure by intriguing in Diyār Bakr with Muslim, the Arab prince of Mosul and Aleppo, who was not on friendly terms with Malik-Shāh (G.Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen [Mannheim, 1851], III, 130, n.2).
7. Artuq re-entered the service of Tutush and governed Jerusalem on his behalf from 479/1086-7 until his own death (C.Cahen, "The Turkish Invasion", A History of the Crusades I, ed. M.W.Baldwin and K.M.Setton [Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1969], I, 158).

8. The term Sāhil has not been translated. It is used by Arab historians of Egypt and Syria to denote the Mediterranean coast which roughly corresponds to Phoenicia.
9. After Artuq's death, his two sons, Sukmān and ʾĪl-Ghāzī, ruled Jerusalem for a short time, until the Fātimids, under the leadership of al-Afdal, took the city from them in 491/1098. For a longer discussion, with references, cf. Chapter IV, pp. 117-8.
10. For a biography of Sultan Muhammad, cf. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, III, pt.1, 236-9. For an analysis of the relationship between this Saljuq sultan and ʾĪl-Ghāzī, cf. Chapter IV, p. 119.
11. Hulwān had been given to ʾĪl-Ghāzī's father Artuq (Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, I, 171). For a description of the town, cf. Le Strange, Lands, 191.

12. Ms.A: ثم اعطاه سجن العراق
Ms.B: ثم اعطاه شحنة بغداد

Whilst there is ample evidence from other sources that ʾĪl-Ghāzī was appointed shihna of Baghdad by Sultan Muhammad in 495/1101-2, there would appear to be no corroboration for his being given Sinjār, as Ms.A would appear to suggest.

What probably occurred was that the scribe of Ms.A was unfamiliar with the word شحنة, which bears a certain superficial similarity to سجن, and he therefore wrote سجن. The form شحنة is an Arabicisation of a Persian word (cf. M.E.Quatremère, Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Egypte II, [Paris, 1845] pt.1, 195, n.2; the work is a translation of al-Maqrīzī, Al-Sulūk fī Maʿrifat Duwal al-Mulūk).

The shihna was an important official of the Saljuq sultan, charged with the task of keeping him informed of events in

Baghdad and with restraining the power of the caliph.

According to Guseynov, the first shihna was appointed in the 1050's and the last one in 1135. The caliph could not prevent the existence of the shihna but he had the right to declare the candidature of shihna persona non grata, whereupon the sultan would suggest someone else (R.A.Guseynov, "Sultan i Khalif (Iz istorii syuzereniteta i vassaliteta na Blizhnem Vostoke XI-XII vv.)", Palestinsky Sbornik 19 [82, 1969], 133).

13. Ibn al-Azraq omits the whole interlude of Fātimid rule in Jerusalem and mentions only its subsequent passing into the hands of the Crusaders. On other occasions, especially on the matter of the succession of Fātimid caliphs, he shows a greater interest in Egyptian affairs (cf. pp. 287-8/f. 164a).
14. Ibn al-Azraq means Diyār Bakr.
15. Sukmān b. Artuq took Hışn Kaifā in 495/1101-2 from Amīr Mūsā (Awad, 269; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 235). For the activities of Sukmān after his departure from Jerusalem, cf. Awad, 269, 271, 283.
16. There is considerable divergence of opinion about the identity of (al)-Yāqūtī.

Ibrāhīm Artuk calls him "the son of Artuk" (I. Artuk, Mardin Artukoğulları Tarihi [Istanbul, 1944], 34-6).

Minorsky is uncertain if Yāqūtī was the son or grandson of Artuq ("Mārdīn", EI¹, 274).

Dolapönü calls him the grandson of Artuq (H. Dolapönü, Tarihte Mardin [Istanbul, 1972], 41).

Cahen says Yāqūtī is Sukmān's brother - i.e. the son of Artuq (La Syrie du Nord, 237).

Ibn Shaddād, whose genealogical grasp is poor, describes Yāqūtī as "the son of the sister of Sukmān" (Jazīra, f.132b), "the son of Artuq" (ibid., f.43a) and "the brother of Sukmān" (ibid.).

Ibn al-Athīr writes "the son of Sukmān's brother, Yāqūtī b. Artuq" (sic) (Kāmil, X, 269).

It would appear likely from the genealogical information provided by Ibn al-Azraq (cf. Appendix B) that Yāqūtī was the son of Alp-Yaruq b. Artuq.

17. A detailed account of Yāqūtī's acquisition of Mārdīn is given by Ibn al-Athīr (Kāmil, X, 268-70) and is copied twice almost verbatim by Ibn Shaddād (Jazīra, ff.43a-b; ff.133a-b).

Yāqūtī was imprisoned in the citadel at Mārdīn which was governed by Berk-Yaruq's bard (مغنی). The town pleased Yāqūtī and he was determined to acquire it upon his release, which was effected through the intercession of Artuq's widow. He persuaded the governor of Mārdīn to hand over some soldiers to help him rid the countryside of Kurdish raiders. Yāqūtī eventually gained control of the citadel by threatening outside the gate to kill the soldiers one by one. Thus the town fell into his hands.

Yāqūtī died soon afterwards in a battle with Chōkermish in 498/1104-5, whereupon his brother, 'Alī, took the town under the suzerainty of Chōkermish. 'Alī left a governor in Mārdīn who was also called 'Alī. This second 'Alī summoned Sukmān b. Artuq and asked him to come and take Mārdīn. The Artuqid 'Alī asked Sukmān to give him back Mārdīn but Sukmān only gave him the iqṭā' of Jabal Jūr.

Unfortunately, the dating of all this is very imprecise. Ibn Shaddād says that Yāqūtī took Mārdīn some time in 487 or 488/1094-5 (Jazīra, f.134a) but Ibn al-Athīr mentions no date at all for the whole episode.

18. Ms.A: **ومات الباقون**

The word **الباقون** has been changed here to **اليقوتى**. This emendation may be regarded as rather bold but these lines are the most obscure in the whole edited text and a certain temerity is needed to make any sense of them at all. The absence of dates and names is especially noticeable here. If Ms.A is translated literally, as "the others died", an apparently insuperable problem of identification arises, for these "others" are not mentioned earlier in Ibn al-Azraq's text.

19. It is difficult to ascertain with any degree of precision the role of ʾIl-Ghāzī at Mārdīn in the last decade of the fifth century A.H.. It is clear that with two major citadels in Diyār Bakr - Ḥiṣn Kaifā and Mārdīn - in Artuqid hands, there was a concentration of other members of the Artuqid family in that area. It was inevitable that there should be conflict and shifting alliances between them. The date of Yāqūtī's acquisition of Mārdīn is known (487 or 488/1094/5) but the date when ʾIl-Ghāzī took it is uncertain.

Ibn al-Azraq does not clarify the situation. He mentions few dates and makes no distinctions between the various separate occasions when ʾIl-Ghāzī must have visited Mārdīn. He also omits any reference to the latter's absences on campaign. The only precise date is ʾIl-Ghāzī's dismissal from the office of shihna in 498/1104-5 (cf. Chapter IV, p.(23), after which he returned

to Diyār Bakr to participate in the power struggle amongst the members of his own family. From this struggle he ultimately emerged victorious.

20. For references to the death of Sukmān b. Artuq, cf. Chapter IV, p.124. It is generally agreed that he died in 498/1105. Ibn Khallikān says he died of quinsy (**علة العوانيق**).

21. Cf. 'Awad, 269, 279.

22. For a discussion of the verb **نفذ**, cf. Chapter II, p.28.

23. Cahen reads the name of this amīr as Shamtar (?) ("Diyār Bakr", 232). He is right to be diffident about this reading. The name occurs three times in Ms.A and on only one occasion (f.161a, l.21), can the name possibly be read as Shamtar. The three radicals seem to be **س م ش**.

24. The form **ميردين** is often used in Ms.B in place of the usual **ماردين**.

25. Ms.A: **ولى موضعه اخوه الامير داود لبداخيه سكان**

This is a very confused genealogy. Ibrāhīm and Dā'ūd were brothers; so too were Sukmān and ʾIl-Ghāzī. In order to make sense historically, the phrase **بعد اخيه سكان** has been translated simply as **بعده**.

26. In his chapter on the Innsbruck dish, which he attributes to Dā'ūd b. Sukmān, van Berchem discusses some of the problems connected with the Artuqids at Mārdīn and Ḥiṣn Kaifā at the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century. He rightly pinpoints the difficulty of establishing the sequence of events at Mārdīn at a time when places constantly changed hands and he criticises Lane-Poole for linking ʾIl-Ghāzī's acquisition of Mārdīn with the death of Ibrāhīm (M. van Berchem and J.Strzygowski, Amida

[Heidelberg, 1910], 123-4).

According to Ibn al-Furāt, ʾIl-Ghāzī took Mārdīn in 502/1108-9 after using a trick to gain access to the citadel (I, f.21a apud Cahen, "Diyār Bakr", 232).

Cahen erroneously cites the date given by Ibn al-Azraq on this folio (f.160b) as 509/1115-6 (ibid.).

27. Ms.A consistently uses the verb **ولد** where the form **ولد** would be more usual.
28. For a good description of Mārdīn, cf. Yāqūt, who writes:-
 "(Mārdīn) is a citadel at the top of a mountain which overlooks Dunaisir, Dārā, Naṣībīn and that broad plain. In front of the citadel extends a large suburb with market places, Muslim and Christian inns.....It is built like an amphitheatre.... There is no doubt that there is no more beautiful, more solidly built and firm castle in the whole world than this" ("Reisen", 436).
29. The sultan was now Sultan Maḥmūd. Sultan Muḥammad had died at the end of 511/1118 (Mustaufī, Guzīda, 278; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, III, 239; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 198-9).
30. Lehmann-Haupt mentions Naṣīr-i Khusrau's visit to Mayyāfāriqīn in 438/1046-7. It was a very prosperous city before the advent of the Turks. The rabad had caravanserais, bazaars, baths and a large mosque, whilst the Friday mosque was abundantly supplied with water and other amenities (Lehmann-Haupt, Armenien einst und jetzt. Reisen und Forschungen [Berlin, 1910], 424).

For a scholarly and detailed study of the history of the city of Mayyāfāriqīn from Sasanian times onwards, cf. M.E.Quatremère, Histoire des Mongols de la Perse écrite en persan par Rashid-eldin (Paris, 1836)

I, 360-5, n.160 (annotated edition of Rashīd al-Dīn Fadlallāh Jāmi' al-Tawārīkh). Cf. also Markwart, Südarmanien, 163-70.

Finally, Ibn Shaddād writes of Mayyāfāriqīn:-

"Until our own time it has never been taken by the sword forcibly. Beside it, Āmid is stronger and better fortified and (yet) it has been taken several times by the sword" (Jazīra, f.68b).

31. Ms.A: الرزبك and الرزبكي

'Awad: الرزبيكي

Ibn Shaddād: زنكى

The reading of this name as Ilduz Beg is very uncertain. Cahen gives Ruzbakī (Diyār Bakr, 234). A more likely reading is Ildız Bey (M.H.Yinanc, "Diyarbakir", I.A., 614). Ibn Shaddād gives Zangī (Jazīra, f.101b). Whilst this is not totally impossible, Ibn Shaddād is, as noted elsewhere in this thesis, very inaccurate with names and genealogies.

Whatever the reading of this name, the amīr Ilduz Beg was appointed as wālī of Mayyāfāriqīn in 508/1114-5 by Qaracha, the governor of Mosul ('Awad, 283).

32. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Sultan Mahmūd gave Mayyāfāriqīn as an iqta' to Il-Ghazī as late as 515/1121-2 (Kāmil, X, 418).

33. The burj al-Rawābī is mentioned by Ibn Shaddād in his description of the buildings of Mayyāfāriqīn (Jazīra, f.68b).

34. The reasons for this change of decision are not clear.

35. This is stock panegyric.

36. For ثقل (plural اثقال), cf. Dozy, Supplément, I, 161. Dozy defines this term as "ce dont on a besoin dans la guerre".

This was one of the many kinds of extra tax which a ruler could levy.

37. For **قسط** (**اقتساط**), cf. Dozy, Supplément , II, 344. Dozy defines this term as "contribution, impôt, tribut". It would appear to imply the payment of a debt in instalments. A parallel account is found in Ibn Shaddād, who glosses athqāl and aqṣāt by kalaf and mu'an (f.101b).

A similar list of taxes were abolished by Sukman al-Qutbī at Mayyāfāriqīn in 502/1108-9 ('Awad, 275).

38. Ms.A: **نزل** (plural **انزال**)

Two possibilities exist for this term:-

- i) **نزل** (plural **نزول**) "provisions que les sujets sont tenus de fournir au souverain quand il est en voyage et à son armée" (Dozy, Supplément , II, 661).
- ii) **نزال** "l'obligation de loger des soldats" (ibid.).

Of these two suggestions, the second one, which means billeting, is more apposite to the context. Although Ms.A has the form **نزل**

Ibn Shaddād reads **نزال** (Jazīra, f.101b).

Ibn al-Athīr records that in 519/1125-6 the soldiers of Sultan Mahmūd's army entered Baghdad and installed themselves in the houses of the inhabitants (Atabegs, 29).

39. Cf. the use of the term **مصادرات** by Bundārī (Zubdat, 132).
40. For a discussion of the conjunction **من حيث** cf. Chapter III, p. 96 .
41. This use of the term shihna probably implies some kind of military officer in charge of the garrison of a city. Minorsky translates this word in a similar context as "protector" ("Caucasica I", 32).
42. Arzan was situated at a distance of one day's journey from Mayyāfāriqīn. According to Ibn Hauqal, it was as important

as Mayyāfāriqīn, Bitlīs, Manzikert and other cities in Armenia (Canard, Ḥamdānides, 84). According to Ibn Shaddād, Arzan had a round citadel on a high hill. The town had an abundance of vines (Jazīra, f.128b). It stands on a tributary of the Tigris called the Arzan-Su (Lehmann-Haupt, op.cit., 385).

43. This apparently lavish praise should be treated with caution. Ibn al-Azraq was for a time in the service of ʾĪl-Ghāzī's son Temūr-Tash and his sympathies are with the Artuqids. These are in any case conventional phrases applied indiscriminately by Ibn al-Azraq to other rulers of Mayyāfāriqīn.

This description should be weighed against that of Ibn al-ʿAdīm who emphasises the rapacity of ʾĪl-Ghāzī and his soldiery when they entered Aleppo in 511/1117-8 (Zubda, II, 180).

44. Ms.A has 516/1122-3 which is the year ʾĪl-Ghāzī died. Ms.B has 513/1119-20. Neither of these two dates tally with the other chronicles, except for Michael the Syrian who also puts the date of the surrender of Aleppo to ʾĪl-Ghāzī in 513 (Chronique, 217). The other chronicles say that ʾĪl-Ghāzī took Aleppo in 511/1117-8 (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 180; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 146; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 372).
45. The victory at Balāt marked the apogee of ʾĪl-Ghāzī's military career. Ibn al-Qalānisi gives the most graphic account of the battle which took place in Rabīʿ I 513/June 1119 (Dhail, 200-1). Michael the Syrian relates that in this battle Roger of Antioch was "hacked to pieces" (Chronique, 217). For a further discussion of Balāt, cf. Chapter IV, p. 156.

46. Ms.A: **وكان اخذها من الاسيرين ملك**

Ibn al-Azraq is unsure of the name of one of the two young sons

of Malik Ridwān of Aleppo. When Ridwān died in 507/1113-4, he was first succeeded by his son Alp Arslan al-Akhras, who ruled in collaboration with a mamlūk, Lu'lu'. Alp Arslan was murdered a year later by Lu'lu' and his associates and was replaced by his brother, Sultān-Shāh, whom Ibn al-Azraq identifies correctly. For these events at Aleppo, cf. Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 167-172; Bughyat, 152-7.

47. Matthew of Edessa places this event in the years 508-9/1115-6 (Chronique, 291). As the local historian, Ibn al-Azraq would normally be the more trustworthy source, were it not for the fact that an inscription in the name of Sultan Muhammad, datable c.510 and in any case before 511, the date of the sultan's death, is found on the west facade of this mosque, which was built at that time. The fire would provide the most natural motive for such a substantial rebuilding. For the text of this inscription, with commentary, see M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, Amida (Heidelberg, 1910), 55-9; see also M. van Berchem, "Arabische Inschriften", in Max Freiherr von Oppenheim, Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien (Leipzig, 1909), 97.

48. Nasībīn lay in Diyār Rabī'a, on the caravan route from Mosul to Syria, six days' journey from Mosul and nine farsakhs from Sinjār (Yāqūt, "Reisen", 435). Already in the fourth century A.H. it had fallen from its former elevated status as the intellectual centre of the Nestorians (E. Honigmann, "Nasībīn", EI').

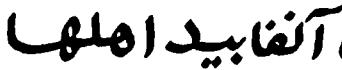
Ibn Shaddād (Jazīra, f.37a) lists the rulers of this town as follows:

c. 495/1101-2	Chōkermish
500/1106-7	Qīlich Arslan b. Sulaimān
500/1106-7	Chavli Saqao
500/1106-7	Il-Ghāzī
502/1108-9	Maudūd
507/1113-4	Aq-Sonqur al-Bursuqī
512/1118-9	Il-Ghāzī
515/1121-2	Aq-Sonqur al-Bursuqī

It would appear that Il-Ghāzī had held Nasībīn on an earlier occasion, during the years 500-2/1106-8. His rule in the town was ended by the appointment of Maudūd. After Maudūd's murder in 507/1113-4, another rival of Il-Ghāzī, Aq-Sonqur al-Bursuqī, who had ousted him as shihna of Baghdad, became governor of Mosul and ruled Nasībīn.

Perhaps Il-Ghāzī's victory at Balāt in 513/1119-20 gave him the confidence to seize Nasībīn the following year.

49. Elsewhere, Ibn al-Azraq gives his full name as 'Alam al-Dīn Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Yahyā b. Nubāta. He belonged to an illustrious family whose members had held the post of qādī in Mayyāfāriqīn. He was born in 464/1071-2 ('Awad, 267).
50. The following passage about Georgia has been translated by Minorsky ("Caucasica I", 31-5). The Arabic text has been transcribed by Amedroz in a footnote to his edition of Ibn al-Qalānisi (op.cit., 205). Part of this account and other subsequent passages in Ibn al-Azraq which refer to Georgia are also published in an Arabic reader for Georgian students (Arabuli Krest'omathia, ed. G.V.T'seret'heli (Tiflis, 1949), 68-72). T'seret'heli prefers to follow Ms.B, which is

- generally a more lucid account than Ms.A.
51. The reputation of ʾIl-Ghāzī was never so high as after his resounding victory at the battle of Balāt. He was thus considered the most appropriate leader for this expedition to Georgia.
 52. There is no textual justification for T'seret'heli's reading , (op.cit., 58).
 53. Lang says the Ja'farid amīrs struck silver dirhams in their own name, modelled on standard 'Abbāsid types (D.M.Lang, The Georgians [London, 1966], 104).
 54. This period must have been between the end of the rule of the Shaddādīd, Fadlūn (some time after 461-2/1068) and the occupation of King David the Restorer (515-6/1122). For further information, cf. M.F.Brosset, Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au commencement du XIXe siècle (St.Petersburg, 1849) I/1,334 and Minorsky, Studies, 64.
 55. King David the Restorer ruled Georgia from 1089-1125. By the end of his reign he had extended the frontiers of Georgia substantially, taking in much of Armenia including Ānī, Shīrvān, and the foothills of Dāghistān as far as Darband (Lang, op.cit., 112; Minorsky, Studies, 84). David had come to the throne after the death of his father, Giorgi, in 1089. After the death of Malik-Shāh, David dared to adopt a more aggressive policy. He stopped paying kharāj to the sultan and prevented the Turks from wintering in Georgia (Brosset, op.cit., I, 352).
 56. Minorsky defines the territory of the Abkhāz as western Georgia. The energetic kings of Tiflis were first of all kings of eastern Georgia (K'art'li) (V.F.Minorsky, review of H.Hasan,

Falākī-i Shīrwānī I and II, BSOS V [1928-30], 907).

57. Ms.B: Toghrīl. Cf. ff.163b-164a.
58. The form used in this text is جنزی .
59. Arrān is the area south-east of Tiflīs between the Kūr and the Araxes rivers. Yāqūt says it is a vast province whose main towns are Barda'a, Shamkūr and Bailaqān ("Reisen", 17).
60. Ms.A: وزادت
Ms.B: مازالت

In his transcription of this part of Ibn al-Azraq's text, Amedroz prefers the reading in Ms.A (Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 205). Minorsky, who translates the passage about Tiflīs, and T'seret'heli, who transcribes it, prefer to use the version in Ms.B.
61. For a discussion of ʾIl-Ghāzī's campaign into Georgia, cf. Chapter IV, p. 160. Cf. also Brosset, op.cit., 365-6.
62. Ms.B calls him Dubais b. Sadaqa al-Mazyadī. For biographies of Dubais, cf. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, I, 504-7; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Bughyat, 224-250.
63. Toghan Arslan is usually given the title al-ahdab ("the hunchback") (cf. Minorsky, Studies, 83,85). For details on his descendants, cf. n. 565.
64. Minorsky states that Toghan Arslan acquired Dvīn as a kind of "Transaraxian colony" (ibid., 83). Here he clearly refers to the well-known Dvīn which lies north of the Araxes. In his earlier article, however, Minorsky very properly suggests that there is confusion between the well-known Dvīn and "the Duvīn belonging to Arzan (i.e. to the valley situated between the river of Bitlis and that of Mayyafariqīn)" ("Caucasica I", 32).

The suggestion about the "Transaraxian colony" is made without any explanation and in complete contradiction to his earlier hypothesis, which he merely states "needs correction".

In the Marwānid section of Ibn al-Azraq's text, Ibn al-Azraq appears to clarify the matter when he writes:-

وملك قزل ارسلان السج الاحمر اسعد و طنزي وباهمور
وكان ملك مدينة دوين من بلد ارزن

(^cAwad, 269). It is certainly more logical to assume that a minor ruler like Toghan Arslan held a small place in Diyār Bakr rather than an important city so far away from his other possessions.

65. **تخلف** "to stay behind".

Minorsky wrongly translates this sentence as:- "They arrived in Arzan al-Rūm (Erzerum) where the qādī and the vazir quarrelled" ("Caucasica I", 32).

66. Ms.A: **الغرس**

Minorsky says Juvainī also spelt the name thus (ibid.).

Amedroz is obviously wrong to read **فرس** (Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 205). T'seret'heli writes **قرس** (op.cit., 59).

67. Thrialeti is a district to the south of Kūr, upstream from Gori. Minorsky says that the route of the invaders must have been Kars-Ardahan-Akhalkalaki (ibid., 32, n.10).

68. Dimitri I ruled 1125-54.

69. Amedroz reads **كسر** (op.cit., 205); Minorsky has **اسر** (op.cit., 33). Amedroz' reading makes better sense.

70. Ibn Shaddād writes that they escaped with twenty horsemen (Jazīra, f.102b). Cf. also Ms.B, f.103b.

71. Ibn al-Azraq refers to one such prisoner on f.161b.

72. Minorsky draws attention to an earlier passage in Ibn al-Azraq's text (Ms.A, f.64a) where the author describes a visit he made around the provinces with his master, King Dimitri. This may well be the same visit mentioned here. The details of the locality seem similar (V.F.Minorsky, A History of Sharvan and Darband [Cambridge, 1958], Annex V, 170-1).

73. Ms.A: **الان**

Al-Lān were an Iranian people from the northern Caucasus (cf. V.F.Minorsky, "Alān", EI²).

74. Ms.A: **وصلنا الى مرج واسع**

There are several occasions in this text where it is difficult to distinguish between **مرج** and **برج**. This is one such instance. A meadow inside the area of a citadel is attested at Ḥiṣn Kaifā where crops were grown inside the citadel (Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f.127a). On the other hand, the translation of **برج واسع** as "broad tower" is also possible.

75. Ms.A: **فنزّل الملك هناك وقال لي ملك الابحاز**

This rather strange repetition of the word malik is probably prompted by the fact that two separate rulers are involved. In the earlier description of this visit (Ms.A, f.64a), the malik of Darband, Amīr Abu'l-Muzaffar, came to pay his respects to Dimitri, the King of the Abkhāz (Minorsky, A History of Sharvān, 170).

76. Two readings are possible here:-

- i) **مستعرب** an Arabic speaker
- ii) **مستغرب** a foreigner

ʿAwad, who describes this anecdote in his introduction, opts for **مستعرب** (op.cit., 2). The other hypothesis of **مستغرب** seems preferable here.

77. Ms.A: مات والاول اصح الملك رضوان بحلب

In an earlier passage, Ibn al-Azraq states that Malik Ridwān died in 505/1111-2 (‘Awad, 278). Here he gives the date as 515/1121-2. Unusually for him, he expresses an opinion on their relative accuracy, opting for the earlier date.

In fact, both the dates he gives are wrong, since Malik Ridwān died in 507/1113-4 (Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, 164; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 189).

78. Ms.A: وودعهم بالجميل

Minorsky has made an error here by confusing وودع and وودع.

He translates this phrase as "he left them alone in all goodness" ("Caucasica I", 33).

79. المون (mu'an) probably means "maintenance costs". It came under the category of illegal taxes (Horst, Staatsverwaltung, 80). Cf. also Dozy, Supplément II, 566.

80. Cf. the article "Kharāj", EI²; Horst, Staatsverwaltung, 78-9.

81. Copper coins which correspond to this description and which have the Georgian King's name or monogram on the obverse and the caliph's name on the reverse were minted in large numbers under King Dimitri (D.M.Lang, Studies in the Numismatic History of Georgia in Transcaucasia [New York, 1955], 17).

Lang interprets the presence of the caliph's name on the coin not as a sign of political dependence on the part of the Georgian King, but as a conciliatory gesture towards the Muslim inhabitants of the Georgian capital (ibid.).

82. The exact meaning of خدمة is unclear. As King David is evidently treating the Muslims more favourably than the Georgians, Armenians or Jews, some kind of taxation is probably

involved.

83. King David is praised here for his kind treatment of his Muslim subjects, just as Malik-Shāh is mentioned in laudatory terms by Georgian sources. Giorgi, the father of King David, went in person to Malik-Shāh in Isfahān to complain about the ravages of the Turks into his territory. Malik-Shāh stopped these incursions into Georgia, on condition that Giorgi paid kharāj (M.F.Brosset, Géorgie I, 349).
84. For the dikka, cf. J.Pedersen, "Masdjid", EI¹.
85. Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī interprets this passage more literally (cf. Chapter II, p.31).
86. Cf. Yāqūt, "Reisen", 17.
87. Cf. Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mir'āt, 102. An earlier attack on Ganja by the Georgians in 503/1109-10 had been repelled (Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 167; al-Husainī, Akhbār, 81). King David obviously saw the devastated city as a prime source of plunder.
88. Ms.A: دخلت الاسارى الى تفليس على العجل من كثرتهم.
 Three possible meanings may be adduced for the phrase على العجل.
 The first would appear to be the most satisfactory.

i) "on carts".

The meaning "cart" is attested by Sauvaget (J.Sauvaget, Les Trésors d'Or de Sibṭ b. al-ʿAjamī [Beirut, 1950], II, 76).

King David would use carts in order to prevent the enormous number of prisoners mentioned from escaping and to speed up his departure from Ganja where he was vulnerable to attack.

ii) "hurriedly"

King David would be anxious to get back to Tiflīs with

the greatest possible haste.

iii) "sheep-fold"

This is a rather unlikely possibility. عجل might be an Arabicisation of the Turkish word agil, "enclosure for livestock, sheep-fold" (Clauson, op.cit., 83a).

89. Ibn al-Azraq has already given the date of Maudūd's death as 508/1114-5, (ʿAwad, 280). There he writes that Maudūd was buried in the "Green Tower" (ibid.). Maudūd was in fact assassinated in 507/1113-4. According to Ibn al-Qalānisi, he was buried in the mashhad inside the Bāb al-Farādīs (Dhail, 187-8).

90. Mārdīn was clearly the centre of ʾĪl-Ghāzī's power, the place to which he always returned for rest and reinforcements.

Ibn Shaddād gives a long description of the town. He mentions a madrassa which was founded by ʾĪl-Ghāzī. Outside the town to the east was an open square around which the Artuqids built a wall (Jazīra, ff.130a-b).

Ms.B points out that Temūr-Tash had stayed behind in Mārdīn, while the khatun and Sulaimān accompanied ʾĪl-Ghāzī to Mayyāfāriqīn (f.105a).

91. The exact locality of this place remains obscure. Honigmann mentions a place called Ausal/Ōsl "before the gates of Āmid" (Ostgrenze, 98). Matthew of Edessa writes about a place called "Aucal, à deux portées de flèche d'Amid" (Chronique, 13).

Ibn al-Qalānisi states that ʾĪl-Ghāzī died at a village called al-Fuhūl in Diyār Bakr (Dhail, 208). For this kind of information, however, Ibn al-Azraq as the chronicler of the Artuqids is more likely to be correct.

92. The dates given by the chroniclers for the death of ʾIl-Ghāzī may be tabulated as follows:

Ibn al-Azraq, Ms.A:	27	Ramādān	516
Ibn al-Azraq, Ms.B:	17	Ramādān	516
Sibt b. al-Ja zī		(<u>Mir'āt</u> , 103)	
Ibn al-Qalānisi	6	Ramādān	516
		(<u>Dhail</u> , 208)	
Ibn al- 'Adīm	1	Ramādān	516
		(<u>Zubda</u> , 206)	

Again, in spite of Ibn al-Azraq's unreliable chronology, one of the dates in his history is more likely to be correct here. He should know best when a major political figure from his own area died. However, it must be admitted that neither 17 nor 27 Ramādān 516 fell on a Thursday.

93. The Huwa gate is mentioned by Ibn Shaddād who recounts an anecdote to explain how it acquired its name (Jazīra, f.69b).
94. The term wālī presents problems of precise definitions. Its meaning under the Saljuqs is well-known. The wālī was the representative of the ruler, responsible for all aspects of the administration of a province (Horst, Staatsverwaltung, 46). In outlying districts such as Diyār Bakr in the early sixth/twelfth century a new overlord of a town would leave behind a wālī to ensure his master's continued tenure there.
95. کزغلی This name presents great *problems*. Ibn Shaddād renders it in three different ways:
کزغلی (Jazīra, f.102b) قزاعلی (ibid., f.104b) and
عزاعلی (ibid., f.58b)

Koprulu rightly criticises Cahen for his reading of this name as Kuzugli (see his review of "Diyar Bakr" in *Belleten*, Cilt 1, Sayı 1 [1937], 287). Similarly, Artuk's version of Küngli is very unsatisfactory (*op.cit.*, 60). Turan's reading would appear to be the most sensible: Oğuzoğlu (*Doğu Anadolu*, 89).

There is a possibility that the name might be Kızıoğlu but it is less satisfactory.

Whatever the reading of the name, this man was the mamlūk of Sukmān al-Qutbī who appointed him wālī of Mayyāfāriqīn in 502/1108-9, where he remained until 506/1112-3 (Ibn Shaddād, *Jazīra*, f.101a; 'Awad, 274-5, 279).

96. Ms.A: **وكله شمس الدولة والخاتون**

"to whom Shams al-Daula and the khātun had given instructions".

This passage is very obscure. The sequence of events is not clear. Another possible translation might be:-

"A shaikh who had been a companion of Najm al-Dīn since his early days went inside and told him (the wālī) that Shams al-Daula and the khātun were there".

97. This subterfuge was necessitated by their desire to enter Mayyāfāriqīn at all costs and gain possession of the citadel before news of ʾIl-Ghāzī's death leaked out. Hence they travelled by night. Once in control of the citadel, they could announce officially that ʾIl-Ghāzī was dead and thus secure the city for Sulaimān. For a fuller discussion of this episode, cf. Chapter VIII.

98. Ibn Khallikān, in his biography of Nasr al-Daula b. Marwān al-Kurdī, quotes Ibn al-Azraq to the effect that this ruler was buried in the castle of al-Sidillī, whence his body was

afterwards removed to the vault of the Banū Marwān adjoining the Muḥaddatha mosque. Ibn Khallikān notes that al-Sidillī is the name of a dome situated in the castle of Mayyāfāriqīn, that this dome is built upon three pillars and that sidillī is a Persian word, signifying "three props" (Wafayāt, I, 157-9).

99. The gubbat al-sultān was built by Khumar-Tash, the mamlūk of Qilich Arslan b. Sulaimān b. Qutlumush. Qilich Arslan was buried there after his body had been retrieved from the Khābūr and brought to Mayyāfāriqīn (ʿAwad, 273).
100. Il-Ghāzī settled Sultān-Shāh b. Ridwān and the daughters of Ridwān in a house at Aleppo after he had taken the city (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 185). He later married one of Ridwān's daughters to consolidate his possession in Aleppo, after his son, Sulaimān, had rebelled there in 515/1121-2 (ibid., 202-3).
101. This assertion is contradicted by Ibn al-ʿAdīm who writes that the union was consummated in Aleppo (ibid., 203).
102. For Khartabirt, cf. Canard, Hʿamdanides, 260; Markwart, Südarmerien, 69, 95.
103. For the career of Balak, cf. C.Cahen, "Balak", EI²; O.Turan, Doğu Anadolu, 151-5.
104. For an analysis of Dāʿūd b. Sukmān of Ḥiṣn Kaifā, cf. Chapter VIII.
105. Sulaimān was attempting to restore to the territory of Mayyāfāriqīn its old boundaries, by taking Haza from his cousin, Dāʿūd of Ḥiṣn Kaifā, and by reconquering the lands taken by Husām al-Daula of Arzan.
106. Cahen rightly amends the name Husām al-Dīn to Husām al-Daula ("Diyār Bakr", 241). This ruler is in fact Qurtī, the son of

Toghan Arslan al-Ahdab, who inherited the family territories of Bitlīs and Arzan (Minorsky, Studies, 85).

107. Al-Afdal b. Badr al-Jamālī, the famous Fātimid vizier, was assassinated in 515/1121. Ibn al-Qalānisi strongly refutes the suggestion that the Bātinīs were responsible for his death. He claims that the real cause was an estrangement between al-Afdal and the caliph (Dhail, 203). For the death of al-Afdal, cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 416; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, I, 614; F. Wüstenfeld, Geschichte der Fatimiden - Chalifen [Göttingen, 1881], 289-90).
108. Ibn Shaddād describes the building of this tower at Mayyāfāriqīn (Jazīra, f.68a).
109. Ms.A: **ختلوشاه** This name has been read as Khutlugh-Shāh.
110. This marriage of Sulaimān b. ʾIl-Ghāzī with the daughter of Sultan Qilich Arslan of Malatya may well represent an attempt by Sulaimān to emulate his successful cousin Balak, who had allied himself to the Saljuqs of Rūm and wielded power thereby.

Little is known of the short rule of Sulaimān (516-518/1122-4). For a brief analysis, cf. Chapter VIII, pp. 480-2 and Cahen, "Diyār Bakr", 241.
111. The name Temūr-Tash only rarely occurs in Ibn al-Azraq's text. Usually this ruler is known under the title al-Saʿīd Ḥusām al-Dīn. When the name Temūr-Tash appears, it has the form **تمرداش**. For the etymology of this name, cf. J. Sauvaget, "Noms et Surnoms de Mamelouks", Journal Asiatique, Tome CCXXXVIII (1950), 47.

112. Ms.A: **وكان لمامات نجم الدين ان السعيد حسام الدين
تمردا ش و ولده بماردين**

In the edition, the underlined **و** has been removed. Whilst it is possible that "Husām al-Dīn and his son were in Mārdīn", the most likely reading is "When Najm al-Dīn died, it happened that his son Husām al-Dīn Temūr-Tash was in Mārdīn." On f.163a (page 283 of the translation) Ibn al-Azraq lists the children of Temūr-Tash. The only one of them born before 520/1126-7 was Safiyya Khatun whom he described as the eldest of Temūr-Tash's children. His sons whose names are known were born in 520 and thereafter.

113. There is general agreement in the sources that Temūr-Tash succeeded his father at Mārdīn (cf. Anon.Syr.Chron., 89; Ibn al-Qalānisī, 208; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 426; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 209)

114. **اكديش** Cahen gives this name as Akdīš (Diyār Bakr", 240).

One possible reading of this word might be Ikdish ("eunuch") (cf. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı devleti, 115).

A more attractive alternative is the word **اكديش** transcribed as Houtsma as "āgdish" which he translates as "Pferd von gemischter Rasse" (M.T.Houtsma, Ein Türkisch-Arabisches Glossar (Leiden, 1894, 51).

In a later work, Cahen defines the word ikdīsh as a "gelding or cross-bred animal". From this meaning, it came to mean a human being of mixed race. In Asia Minor, it referred mainly to the offspring of unions between Turks and the indigenous inhabitants (C.Cahen, Pre-Ottoman Turkey, tr. J.Jones-Williams, [London, 1968], 192).

115. It was the common practice at this time amongst the Saljuqs and other Turkish rulers for an atābeg to marry the mother of his young ward.
116. 'Alam al-Dīn Abu'l Hasan 'Alī b. Yahyā b. Nubāta was born in 464/1071-2 ('Awāḍ, 267). He became qādī in 507/1113-4 and remained in the post until he died (ibid., 279 and 282).
117. Cahen mentions in a footnote to his genealogical table of the Artuqids that Mahmūd was governor of Mārdīn and then exiled ("Diyār Bakr", 168) but he does not cite his source.
118. For the death of Sulaimān, cf. also Sibṭ b. al-Jawzī (Mir'āt, 117); Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 220).
119. The bodies of Il-Ghāzī and his son, Sulaimān, were later transferred to Mārdīn by Temūr-Tash (cf. p. 314/f. 171a).
120. **ختلاش** This is probably an attempt to reproduce the name Khutlugh-Shāh.
121. The acquisition of the citadels of Mayyāfāriqīn and Mārdīn presented great difficulties to any would-be conqueror. They could be taken either by negotiation, usually after a protracted siege (e.g. the conquest of Mayyāfāriqīn by Ibn Jahīr in 478/1085-6) or by subterfuge (e.g. Yāqūtī's acquisition of Mārdīn, cf. supra, n. 17).
- Typically, Temūr-Tash preferred to negotiate with the wālī of his late brother. Sulaimān, of course, had opted for a trick to enter the citadel. Temūr-Tash was not the only ruler interested in Mayyāfāriqīn and his succession there after his brother's death was by no means a foregone conclusion.
122. The death of the senior member of the family, Il-Ghāzī, shortly

followed by that of his son Sulaimān, left a power vacuum in Diyār Bakr. Both Dā'ūd and Temūr-Tash possessed a strong base in the area, at Ḥiṣn Kaifā and Mārdīn respectively, but Mayyāfāriqīn lay without a protector.

The history of the period 518-538/1124-44 in Diyār Bakr is dominated by the rivalry of these two cousins and by their relationship with Zangī.

123. Ibn Shaddād gives a detailed description of Ḥiṣn Kaifā. He stresses the impregnability of its citadel and lists the town's monuments. The citadel had within its enclosure a green maidān and fields where enough wheat, barley and grains were grown to feed its inhabitants from year to year. In the rabad to the north were bazaars, khāns, madrasas, hammāns, tombs and the turbas of the Banū Marwān and the Banū Artuq (Jazīra, f.127a).
124. Temūr-Tash had hurried to Mārdīn from Aleppo on 25 Rajab 518 to ask for help from his brother against the Franks at Aleppo and to collect troops (Ibn al- 'Adīm, Zubda, 223). While Temūr-Tash was at Mārdīn, Sulaimān died and Temūr-Tash went quickly to Mayyāfāriqīn. He was preoccupied with the acquisition of his brother's territories to the exclusion of thinking about Aleppo (ibid., 225).
125. The negotiations must have lasted several weeks since Sulaimān had died at the beginning of the previous month, Ramadān, and it is to be assumed that Temūr-Tash acted quickly.
126. According to Sauvaget, there were two versions of this name:

ایاز and ایاس (op.cit., 39).

Ms.A has the form ایاس whilst Ms.B prefers ایاس

For the death of Ayāz, cf. Chapter VIII.

127. This is a reference to the third Saltuqid ruler of Erzerum (cf. O.Turan, Doğu Anadolu, 8 and 241). His full title was Alp Toghrıl Beg Abu'l-Muzaffar Ghāzī (cf. R.H.Ünal, Les Monuments Islamiques Anciens de la Ville d'Erzurum et de sa Région [Paris, 1968], 26).
128. This name is unclear in the manuscripts. The disposition of the letters appears to be مرسى. Cahen read Tafratī ('Diyār Bakr', 268). Artuk prefers Tughratı (I.Artuk, Mardin Artukoğulları Tarihi (Istanbul, 1944). Artuk's genealogical table is on the last unnumbered page of his book.
129. The order of events is confused here. According to Ibn al-Adīm, Temūr-Tash took possession of Aleppo on Wednesday 20 Rabī' I 518, after the death of Balak two days before. He then left for Mārdīn on 25 Rajab 518 and acquired Mayyāfāriqīn after the death of his brother, Sulaimān (Zubda, 220-5).

A striking characteristic of Ibn al-Azraq's history is his lack of interest and information about Aleppan affairs. This elliptical reference to Temūr-Tash's acquisition and loss of Aleppo may be the result of a genuine lack of information about these events. A more probable motive, in this instance at least, is a desire on the part of Ibn al-Azraq to suppress the facts about Temūr-Tash's role in Aleppan affairs which did not *redound* to his credit.

130. Once in power at Aleppo, Temūr-Tash's first important step was to release Baldwin, on Friday 17 Rajab 518. Baldwin had agreed to hand over a number of citadels and a large ransom but immediately after his release he violated his agreement with Temūr-Tash. Baldwin allied with Dubais and other parties

interested in Aleppo and Temūr-Tash went to Mārdīn to seek help from his brother. Messengers were sent to Temūr-Tash from the people of Aleppo. He ignored their entreaties, temporised with them and finally imprisoned them. The messengers, one of whom was an ancestor of Ibn al-‘Adīm, escaped and sought help instead from Aq-Sonqur al-Bursuqī, who went and took Aleppo in Dhu’l-Hijja 518/January 1125 (Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, 223-30; Bughyat, 204-7).

The illegible part of this passage in Ms.A is not found in Ms.B. The text seems to read:-

ثم انه عاوض بها... خذك اوسام حلب

131. This incident is recorded in detail by Ibn al-Athīr. The shihna of Baghdad came into conflict with the caliph, al-Mustarshid, in 519/1125-6. The shihna left Baghdad that same year and complained to the sultan of his treatment at the hands of the caliph. He informed the sultan that the caliph was raising troops to prevent him from entering Iraq. Sultan Mahmūd left for Iraq and although the caliph asked him not to come to Baghdad, the sultan persisted. He arrived in Baghdad on 20 Dhu’l-Hijja 519 and stayed until 10 Rabī‘II 520. There were skirmishes between the troops of the sultan and caliph and finally the caliph sought peace. Mahmūd appointed a new shihna of Baghdad, Zangī (Atabegs, 28-31; Kāmil, X, 447-450). Cf. also Mustaufī, Guzīda, 345.
132. For the death of Aq-Sonqur al-Bursuqī, the ruler of Mosul, cf. Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 214; al-‘Azīmī, Chronique, 397; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Bughyat, 213; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, I, 227; Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 31; Kāmil, X, 446-7; Bar Hebraeus, Chronography, 252.

Ibn al-Azraq's dates are wrong, since the sources seem agreed that the murder of Aq-Sonqur al-Bursuqī took place at the end of 520 in Dhu'l-Qāda. Ibn al-ʿAdīm and Ibn Khallikān agree that the exact date was Friday 9 Dhu'l-Qāda 520. Ibn al-Athīr has 8 Dhu'l-Qāda.

133. ʿIzz al-Dīn Masʿūd succeeded his father at Mosul and was confirmed in his post by Sultan Maḥmūd. Masʿūd took his main adviser, Chavli, who had been one of his father's mamlūks. The following year, however - 521/1127 - Masʿūd died (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 32). Cf. also Bar Hebraeus, Chronography, 252-3.
134. Bahā' al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī belonged to the eminent Shahrazūrī family which furnished the Zangid dynasty with many of its qādīs (cf. infra, nn. 145 and 380).
135. Naṣīr al-Dīn Jaqar was an important adviser and associate of Zangī (cf. infra, n. 204).
136. Ms.B writes the name **الاغسياني** as **اليغسياني**.

According to Usāma, Salāh al-Dīn possessed unusual ferocity and cruelty. This man, who had held the office of hājib in the time of Aq-Sonqur al-Bursuqī, is mentioned frequently by Usāma (Memoirs, 187-9).

137. Ibn al-Athīr also mentions that Chavli's envoys took a large sum of money with them (Atabegs, 32).
138. **خدم** is used here in accordance with Dozy's definition:- "témoigner son respect à quelqu'un, en lui offrant quelque chose" (Supplément I, 354).
139. Ibn al-Azraq's account differs from that of Ibn al-Athīr in a number of important details. Ibn al-Athīr puts the date

of the visit to Baghdad of officials from Mosul in 521/1127-8. Jaqar was not in Mosul, as Ibn al-Azraq suggests, but in Baghdad with Zangī. Chavli, who had taken control in Mosul, sent Bahā' al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Yaghī-Sīyanī to Baghdad to ask the sultan to confirm the young brother of 'Izz al-Dīn Mas'ūd as ruler of Mosul. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Mas'ūd himself had died in 521/1127 (Atabegs, 32). This date is confirmed by Ibn al-Qalānisi (Dhail, 217) and Ibn Khallikān, who gives the exact day as 22 Jumādā II 521 (Wafayāt, I, 228).

140. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Bahā' al-Dīn and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn were worried by Chavli's power at Mosul. When they arrived in Baghdad, therefore, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn met Naṣīr al-Dīn Jaqar who was a relation of his by marriage. Jaqar suggested that Zangī should assume power at Mosul. Jaqar and Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn then returned to Bahā' al-Dīn and tried to persuade him to give Zangī his support. After the promise of iqṭā'as, Bahā' al-Dīn agreed to the plan. The two envoys from Mosul then had a meeting with the sultan's vizier, Anūshīrvān b. Khālīd. They said that the son of al-Bursuqī was a mere child and that Mosul needed a determined, courageous man to defend it (Atabegs, 34-5). Cf. also Bar Hebraeus' account (Chronography, 253).

141. Ms.A has the name Qasīm al-Daula Zangī b. Aq-Sonqur (sic). This has been corrected in the translation to read "Zangī b. Qasīm al-Daula Aq-Sonqur".

The father of Zangī was called Qasīm al-Daula Aq-Sonqur, whilst Zangī himself was known as "Atābeg b. Qasīm al-Daula" (Ibn al-^cAdīm, Bughyat, 97 and 251).

142. Ibn al-Athīr mentions no meeting with Zangī to discuss the distribution of offices.
143. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Bahā' al-Dīn was made chief qādī of all Zangī's existing territories and any other places which might be conquered subsequently. Of all the officials, he was the closest to Zangī and the most powerful (Atabegs, 35).
144. For a description of the office of hājib in Saljuq times, cf. Uzunçarsili, op.cit., 35-6. The hājib acted as an intermediary between the ruler and his government (cf. also EI², s.v. hājib; Horst, Staatsverwaltung, 18-9).
145. The head of the ruler's own personal troops. For a definition of the term askar, cf. infra, n. 615.
146. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Ṣalāh al-Dīn received the office of amīr hājib (Atabegs, 35).
147. Nasīr al-Dīn Jaqar was made governor of Mosul and was given overall responsibility for the administration of the province and its citadels (ibid.).
148. The account given by Ibn al-Azraq broadly agrees with that of Michael the Syrian (Chronique, 229).

Ibn al-Athīr has another account of Zangī's acquisition of Mosul (Kāmil, X, 453-4). Cf. also Bar Hebraeus, Chronography, 253-4; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, I, 540.

149. Mahmūd had two small sons, Alp Arslan and Farrukh-Shāh. There is, however, confusion in the sources on the question of which of them had the title al-Khafājī. Ibn al-Azraq clearly does not give the title to Alp Arslan but he does not know the names of Mahmūd's other son. Ibn al-Athīr speaks of Alp Arslan al-Khafājī (Atabegs, 71), whilst Bundārī mentions Farrukh-Shāh al-Khafājī (Zubdat, 205).

150. For a definition of the term atābeg, cf. M.F.Sanaullah, The Decline of the Saljūqid Empire (Calcutta, 1938), 5-7.
151. Ms.B has: "They asked for one of his sons and that Zangī should be his atābeg".

It is significant to note that it was regarded as necessary to preserve the fiction that by the use of the two maliks the sultan's line was still in power. By the same token, Chavli had wanted the stamp of the sultan's official approval for the government at Mosul to be invested in the son of Aq-Sonqur al-Bursuqī. The de facto ruler would of course have been Chavli, if his plan had succeeded.

152. The sources are generally agreed that Zangī took possession of Mosul in 521/1127. This year is given by Ibn al-Athīr (Atabegs, 34; Kāmil, X, 454) and Ibn Shaddād (Jazīra, f.45a). Ibn Khallikān records the exact date as 10 Muharram 521/27 January 1127 (Wafayāt I, 540).
153. Once again, Ibn al-Azraq's chronology is inaccurate. The date of Balak's death is discussed by J.Sauvaget ("La tombe de l'Ortokide Balak", Ars Islamica V, 207-15). The inscription on his tomb records the date of Balak's death as Rabī' I 518 (April-May 1124).

Amongst the chroniclers, Ibn al-ʿAdīm gives the most detailed account of Balak's death. He notes the date as 19 Rabī' I 518 (Zubda, 219). Cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 436; al-ʿAzīmī, "Chronique", 394; Ibn al-Furāt, Duwal, I, f.196a (apud Cahen, notes to al-ʿAzīmī, "Chronique", 440).

For an account of Balak's career, cf. O.Turan, Doğu Anadolu, 151-5.

154. Ms.A: **كالوا** (sic). Bālū was variously called Palu and *Βαλουος* (cf. Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 30-2; Markwart describes Bālū as lying west of Khartabirt (**خرتابت**) and east of Sumaisāt (Südarmanien, 242).
155. Cf. Abū Bakr Tihirānī, Kitāb Diyārbakriyya, ed. N.Lugal and F.Süner (Ankara, 1962) II, 222.
156. Jubuq was in the service of Ibn Jahīr when the latter took Mayyāfāriqīn. Ibn Jahīr gave him Khartabirt which remained in the possession of Jubuq and his descendants until Balak took it from them. After losing Khartabirt, Jubuq's descendants served the Artuqids at Hisn Kaifā (ʿAwad, 212-3). Ibn Shaddād relates that after Ibn Jahīr had taken Diyār Bakr, Amīr Jubuq stayed behind with 300 horsemen. After he died, his sons took his territory (Jazīra, f.94a).
157. Whilst Temūr-Tash managed to forestall him at Mayyāfāriqīn, Dāʿūd moved quickly to seize Balak's territories, thus arriving before the Danishmendid Gümüşh-Tegin Ghāzī from Malatya. For Dāʿūd's attack on Bālū, cf. Ibn al-Furāt, Duwal, f.196b (apud Cahen, "Diyār Bakr", 242).
- Michael the Syrian relates that since Dāʿūd had stolen a march on Gümüşh-Tegin Ghāzī at Khartabirt, the latter pillaged the area of Khanzīt and took Mazara (Chronique, 220).
158. Tugh-Tegin died on Saturday 8 Safar 522 (Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 219).
159. Ibn al-Furāt gives the date of Sultan Mahmūd's death as Thursday 5 Shawwāl 525. He then adds without comment that "Ibn al-Azraq al-Fāriqī gave the date as 15 (sic) Shawwāl 524 and mentioned that he died outside Isfahān, where he was buried" (Duwal, f.29b).

Ibn Khallikān gives the date as Thursday 15 Shawwāl 525. He also cites the date given by Ibn al-Azraq but he too makes no comment in its accuracy (Wafayāt, III, pt.1, 346).

160. Ms.A: **وفيهما قتل الوزير المزدغانى وبهرام
الباطنية اجمع**

This has been translated as "Also in that year the vizier al-Mazdaqānī, Bahrām and all the Ismāʿīlīs were killed".

This passage reveals a complete confusion on the part of Ibn al-Azraq or his scribe or both. In order to make sense of the historical facts, a و has been added between "Bahrām" and "all the Bātinīs".

This incident is covered in detail by Ibn al-Qalānisī (Dhail, 220-5). Bahrām, the propagandist of the Bātinīs at Damascus, was aided in the advancement of his aims by the vizier Abu'l-Tāhir al-Mazdaqānī. The latter was killed at Damascus at the instigation of Būrī b. Togh-Tegin on 17 Ramadān 523 (1129). Thereafter the townspeople seized known Ismāʿīlīs and killed them.

Bahrām was not killed at Damascus but in the valley of Tayyīm during the previous year. He had been given the frontier fortress of Bāniyās by Togh-Tegin to hold against the Franks. Whilst Il-Ghāzī was in charge of Aleppo, Bahrām had persuaded him to recommend him to Togh-Tegin. At Damascus he had preached openly (M.G.S.Hodgson, The Order of Assassins [The Hague, 1955], 104-5).

For other accounts of the Ismāʿīlī massacre at Damascus, cf. Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 239-40; al-ʿAzīmī, "Chronique", 400-1.

161. Ibn al-Azraq is probably unaware of the complicated power-struggle which followed the death of Sultan Mahmūd. Toghrīl was Sanjar's candidate. He acceded to the throne after Sanjar had defeated Mas'ūd and Dā'ūd, who also aspired to the sultanate in the western part of the Saljuq empire.

For the short reign of Toghrīl and the troubled events of the years 525/1131 - 529/1135, cf. Bundārī, Zubdat, 160-172; al-Husainī, Akhbār, 101-3; Mustaufī, Guzīda, 335-346; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 474-7, 480).

Toghrīl finally came to the throne in Jumādā II 526 (Bundārī, Zubdat, 160). As for his death, whilst Ibn al-Qalanīsī puts it in 528, most sources give Muharram 529 (e.g. Kāmil, XI, 11; Atabegs, 49; Rāwandī, Rahāt, 208; Mustaufī, Guzīda, 346). Ibn al-Jauzī gives an exact date of Wednesday 3 Muharram 529 (Muntazam, X, 53). Once again, Ibn al-Azraq's dates are chaotic.

162. The text of Ms.A mentions no name for this sultan but the context makes it clear that Sultan Muhammad is meant. For a genealogical table of the late Saljuqs and especially of those mentioned by Ibn al-Azraq on these pages, cf. Appendix B, infra, p. 517.
163. Justi's genealogical table, which is very detailed, has no mention of a son of Muhammad called Bahrām-Shāh (F. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch [Marburg, 1895], 452). Ibn al-Azraq is probably making a garbled reference to Bahrām-Shāh b. Toghrīl b. Muhammad who wielded power in Jīruft from 565/1169-70 - 570/1174-5 (cf. Bosworth, "Iranian World", 173).

164. Ms.A **وبهرام شاه قيل واخذ**

This part of the text is almost certainly incomplete. Ms.B

offers no help. Either a place-name such as Jīruft should be inserted or if translated as it stands **خذ** might mean the same as **توفى**. This latter suggestion is far from satisfactory.

165. There is general agreement in the sources that Dā'ūd died in 538/1143-4, not in 539/1144-5, as Ibn al-Azraq suggests. Bundārī says that Dā'ūd married a daughter of Sultan Mas'ūd and that he died in Tabrīz in 538. Bundārī also hints that Zangī had instigated his murder (Zubdat, 195). Al-'Azīmī gives a more precise date, Rabi' I 538, and states that he was killed in Tabrīz by three men ("Chronique", 423). Cf. also Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 277; al-Husainī, Akhbār, 114.

Dā'ūd was a claimant to the sultanate after the death of Mahmūd, his father, but Sanjar opted for Toghrīl. Dā'ūd's power base was Āzarbāijān. After Mas'ūd's accession, Dā'ūd was finally mollified by Mas'ūd's appointing him his heir (cf. Bosworth, "Iranian World", 124-5).

166. Muḥammad b. Mahmūd is discussed in greater detail by Ibn al-Azraq on p. 332 / f. 175 b.
167. Malik-Shah b. Mahmūd is also discussed by Ibn al-Azraq on p. 332 / f. 175 b.
168. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Alp Arslan was still alive in 539/1144-5 and it was he who was responsible for the death of Nasīr al-Dīn Jaqar in that year. Zangī was waiting for Mas'ūd to die so that he could make Alp Arslan sultan in his place (Atabegs, 71-2).

Alp Arslan was a significant protagonist in the events which followed the assassination of Zangī in 541/1146. He was misled into the belief that he would rule at Mosul but was in

fact taken prisoner (Ibn al-Azraq, p. 319 /f. 172a).

169. Whilst Justi's genealogical table gives no heirs to Sulaimān-Shāh b. Muhammad b. Malik-Shāh (op.cit., 452-3) Luther says that he had a son called Sanjar (K.A.Luther, The Political Transformation of the Seljuq Sultanate of Iraq and Western Iran: 1152-87, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, [Princeton, 1964], 291).

For a detailed analysis of the short reign of Sulaimān-Shāh, cf. ibid., 114-128. The important events in the career of Sulaimān-Shāh before he became sultan are discussed by Bosworth, "Iranian World", especially 144, 155 and 169. He ruled 555-6/1160-1 and was murdered in 556/1161 (Rāwandī, Rāhat, 279; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 175; Bundārī, Zubdat, 296; al-Husainī, Akhbār, 144).

170. Saljuq-Shāh was the only one of Muhammad's five sons who did not eventually rule as sultan (Bosworth "Iranian World", 119). On the death of Mahmūd, he had made a bid for authority from his power base in Fārs and Khūzistān, supported by his atābeg, Qaracha. He was also involved in the events of the caliphal crisis of 529-30/1134-6 and thereafter (ibid., 128-9). In 532/1137-8 Saljuq-Shāh made peace with his brother Mas'ūd who gave him the territories which had belonged to the Shāh-i Arman whose centre of power was Akhlāt (Bundārī, Zubdat, 185; al-Husainī, Akhbār, 111). It is significant to note Ibn al-Azraq's isolated comment on Ms.A, f.167b where he writes that Saljuq-Shāh laid siege to Akhlāt in 532 but then withdrew.

Qara-Sonqur put Saljuq-Shāh in power in Fārs in 533/1138-9 but the following year he was deposed by Boz-Aba. He probably died in captivity (Bosworth, "Iranian World", 129-30).

171. Mas'ūd Bilāl was shihna of Baghdad until al-Muqtafī drove him out on the death of Sultan Mas'ūd. Cf. p. 381 /f. 175b.
172. Arslan-Shāh's mother married Eldigūz after the death of Toghril (Mustaufī, Guzīda, 352 and 358). Arslan Shāh came to the throne in Dhu'l-Qa'da 555/1160 at Hamadhān (Husainī, Akhbār, 145). Eldigūz was proclaimed atābeg al-a'zam and was to play the key role in the new régime (ibid.; Bundari, Zubdat, 297). Arslan-Shāh died in Jumādā II 571/December-January 1175-6 (Rāwandī, Rāhat, 301).

173. Ms.A: شملکوا

Under Arslan-Shāh and the de facto ruler, his step-father Eldigūz, Arrān and Āzarbāijān were again closely united with al-Jibāl (Luther, op.cit., 141).

According to Le Strange, Shamkūr was one of the major cities of Arrān; it lay to the north-west of Bardhā'a, on the road to Tiflīs (Lands, 178-9).

174. Sarja was a fortress some fifteen kilometres west of Nasībīn (cf. Canard, H'andaniides, 100, n.54; Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 20). According to Yāqūt, the fortress lay between Nasībīn, Dunaisir and Dārā ("Reisen", 436).
175. Dārā lay to the south-east of Mārdīn, five farsakhs from Nasībīn (Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 20-4). It received its name from Darius (Yāqūt, "Reisen", 436).

Sibt b. al-Jauzī says that Zangī took Dārā in 524 (Mir'āt, 189).

176. This incident is repeated on f.164b (cf. p.288 n. 199). Here, as on several other occasions, Ibn al-Azraq is apparently

unaware that he repeats his material. Such lack of care adds confusion to his already generally inaccurate dates.

177. Sayyida Khatun had married Sulaimān b. ʾIl-Ghāzī when he had assumed power at Mayyāfāriqīn in 516/1122.

(cf. also Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f.103a .

178. For an account of the gubbat al-sultān, cf. p.371 n.99.
 179. Ms.B: "Amir Dāʾūd had married her mother, ʿĀisha Khatun".
 180. Ms.B calls him Malik Toghrīl. This must be a reference to the son of Qilīch Arslan whom Justi calls Toghrīl Arslan. Justi says he was driven out in 1109 and died around 1128 (op.cit., 453). He states no source for this information.

After Qilīch Arslan died in 500/1106-7, his widow sought out Balak, who married her and gave her his protection (Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 200). Amongst the sons whom Qilīch Arslan left were Masʿūd, Malik-Shāh, ʿArab and Toghrīl Arslan (Bar Hebraeus, Chronography, 298-9).

Chabot (Chronique de Michael le Syrien, 204, n.4) and Turan are in no doubt that the sultan of Malatya was Toghrīl Arslan (O.Turan, Selcuklular Zamānında Türkiye [Istanbul, 1971], 153). Dulaurier, on the other hand, is more tentative but nevertheless opts for Toghrīl Arslan as the most likely person (Matthew of Edessa, 466 n.3).

181. Al-ʾAmir was caliph of the ʾFatīmids from 495/1101 - 524/1130. Ibn al-Qalānisi records the date of his death as Tuesday 2 Dhu'l-Qaʿda 524/November 1130 (Dhail, 228). The year 524 is also attested by al-ʿAzīmī (Chronique, 403), whilst Ibn al-Jauzī confirms the exact date given by Ibn al-Qalānisi (Muntazam, X, 16).

182. For various explanations of how and why Zangī came to have Dubais with him, cf. Ibn al-^cAdīm, Zubda, 248-9; Bughyat, 231-2; Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 46-7; Kāmil, X, 470-1; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 241; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 230-1.

Ibn al-^cAdīm stresses that Dubais was surprised to be well treated by Zangī. After the caliph al-Mustarshid had tried unsuccessfully to persuade Zangī to surrender Dubais, the caliph defeated the joint forces of Zangī and Dubais in Sha^cbān 526. Zangī returned to Mosul, whilst Dubais fled to Sanjar (Zubda, 251).

183. Turan reads this passage as:-

"Gurikat Merākib al-ahlatiyye bi'l - bahr Konstantiniyye fe-tagarrakta fihā cema'atun min el- Ahlatiyye" (sic) (Doğu Anadolu, 90, n.21). Ms.A clearly has **بالبحر بالقسطنطينية** whilst the word transcribed by Turan as "fe-tagarrakta" is illegible in the manuscript. The arrangement of the letters seems to be **نفضن** (f.164a, 1.9). Possibly the verb **تصد** or **وصل** is used here. The translation given is only tentative but is derived from the context.

Turan accepts the date 506 given by Ibn al-Azraq as correct, although this piece of information is placed in a group of events which occurred in 525 and 526. Even Ibn al-Azraq keeps to a rough chronological framework, although many individual dates are inaccurate.

One perplexing aspect of Turan's book is the way in which he cites references from Ibn al-Azraq. He states in his bibliography that he has used B.M.Or. 5803 (ibid., 249), yet his individual folio references to that manuscript (Ms.A) do

not tally remotely with the information he cites. The above passage which has been quoted in full from Turan is found on f.163a. Turan says it comes from f.172a. His book abounds with similar instances.

184. Finik was formerly called Phoenica and Fanak. It was situated twelve kilometres from Jazīra b. 'Umar (V.F.Minorsky, "Kurds", EI¹).
185. The exact location of Qatalbas is not clear. Cahen places it between Is'ird and Khīzān ("Diyār Bakr", 223). The place is mentioned without details by Ibn Shaddād (Jazīra, f.65b).
186. Bātāsā is listed by Ibn Shaddād amongst the fortresses of Diyār Bakr (ibid.) The name is spelt in Marsh 333 as **باتاسا**. Cahen places it in the region of Is'ird ("Diyār Bakr", 221).
187. This is a continuation of the discussion of Fātimid history which was cut short above.
188. In the earlier part of Ibn al-Azraq's history which deals with the Marwānids, the author discusses in some detail the question of the nass and the circumstances of the Nizārī schism ('Awad, op.cit., 276). There the phraseology is virtually identical:-
**نص مذهبهم انه لا يموت الامام منهم الا وقد خلف ولدا
 ذكرا منصوبا عليه بالخلافة**
189. For the confused events surrounding the succession of al-Āmir see S.M.Stern, "The succession to the Fātimid caliph al-Āmir", Oriens 4 (1951), 193-255. According to some sources, an heir, al-Tayyib, was born to al-Āmir in 524/1130 but his fate was shrouded in mystery (ibid., 195-202).

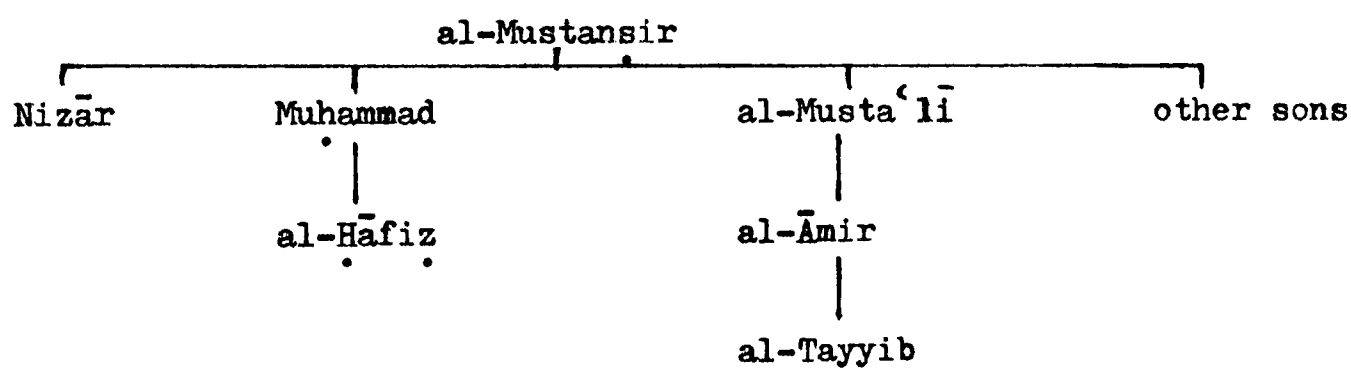
On the other hand, Wüstenfeld, who follows a similar account to that of Ibn al-Azraq's source, relates that as

al-Āmir left no male successor, his cousin, ʿAbd al-Majīd, was next in line of succession. The populace, however, demanded a delay until the pregnancy of al-Āmir's wife reached its term. If a son should be born, ʿAbd al-Majīd was only to act as regent. The wife had a daughter, however (F. Wüstenfeld, Geschichte der Fatimiden - Chalifen [Göttingen, 1881], 300).

In his biography of al-Ḥāfiz, Ibn Khallikān adheres to a narrative similar to that of Ibn al-Azraq (Wafayāt, II, 179-181).

What is more certain is that ʿAbd al-Majīd at first acted only as regent but he later proclaimed himself caliph (ibid., 202-7).

190. The following genealogy of the Fātimids is relevant here:-



(Hodgson, op.cit., 160-1).

From the above table, it is clear that neither of the first two reports of al-Ḥāfiz's genealogy are correct, since al-Ḥāfiz was neither the son of al-Mustansir nor of al-Mustaʿlī.

If the phrase **قيل ولد غير المستنصر للمستنصر** is translated as:- "Another report says that he was the son of another son of al-Mustansir other than al-Mustaʿlī" it would make correct sense historically. The Arabic sentence might, however, also be translated simply as "Another report says that sons other than

al-Musta'li were born to al-Mustansir".

191. 'Abd al-Majid was proclaimed imam under the title al-Hafiz li-Din Allah on 3 Rabi' II 525 (Stern, op.cit., 207).
192. Ibn al-Azraq is interested in Fātimid history. This unusually long excursus is a continuation of a series of discussions on the Fātimids and Ismā'īlīs which occur at intervals in Ms.A.

In an earlier passage, Ibn al-Azraq relates how at al-Mustansir's death, Fātimid Egypt was divided; one faction supported an elder son of al-Mustansir, Nizār, whilst the other gave allegiance to al-Musta'li, a younger son of al-Mustansir. Al-Musta'li's mother was the sister of the powerful vizier al-Afdal who was responsible for by-passing Nizār in favour of his nephew ('Awad, 267).

Ibn al-Azraq then relates how Nizār went away, thus creating the rift between the Fātimids in Cairo and the supporters of Nizār which is mentioned in this passage. Viewing events from his own time (572/1176-7) Ibn al-Azraq says that Nizār's grandson, Nizār b. Muhammad b. Nizār "is now caliph of the Ismā'īlīs and is now in Egypt." (ibid., 276-7).

193. For the development of pro- Abbāsid hadīths cf. I. Goldziher, Muslim Studies ed. S.M. Stern, tr. C.M. Barber and S.M. Stern (London, 1971), II, 97-101. Goldziher cites the example of a court poet of al-Mahdī who quoted the Qur'an to prove that 'Abbās was the rightful heir to the prophet (op.cit., 100). Here the legitimacy of 'Abbās and his line is put into the mouth of Muhammad himself. The pronouncement is very reminiscent of the caliph al-Qā'im's statement quoted by Bundārī, on the occasion of Toghrīl's request to marry his

daughter:-

نحن بنو العباس خير الناس فينا الامامة والزعامة
الى يوم القيامة

(Zubdat, 20).

194. The word amlāk, which is most commonly the plural of mlk ("property, possession"), is occasionally found as the plural of malik ("king").
195. At the time of the Saljuq conquests, the religious authority of the 'Abbāsid caliphate had been deliberately strengthened by the Saljuqs. Saljuq power had persuaded independent rulers to reject Fātimid authority in favour of recognition of the 'Abbāsids (cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 42-3).
196. Yāqūt places Is'ird in the Jazīra, whilst other authors put it in Armenia (Canard, Hamdanides, 85).
197. **بَاهْمَرْد** Bahmard is also referred to as Bahmūd in Ms.A.
198. These acquisitions were made by Dā'ūd after his defeat at Zangī's hands in the previous year. Other sources say that it was Zangī who took Bahmard in 525/1131-2 (al-'Azīmī, "Chronique", 405; Ibn Furāt, Duwal, f.29b). At any rate, Dā'ūd was not destined to hold Bahmard for long, if he held it at all. Ibn al-Athīr says that Zangī took the citadel in 526/1131-2 (Atabegs, 47).
199. This incident has already been mentioned in f.164a.
200. According to Ibn al-Athīr, the two Artuqid cousins had already joined forces in 521/1127-8 against Zangī who had marched against Nasībīn, a possession of Temūr-Tash. Zangī had intercepted a pigeon carrying a message to the garrison at

Nasībīn. The message which came from the Artuqids promised to bring help and urged them to hold out for three more days. Zangī changed the message to a period of twenty days and thereby caused the people of Nasībīn to hand over the citadel to him (Atabegs, 36-7).

On his campaign into Artuqid territory in 524/1129-30, Zangī met Dā'ūd and Temūr-Tash outside Dārā, defeating them and taking Sarja and Dārā. He was reluctant, however, to pursue Dā'ūd further into Diyār Bakr because of the difficulty of the terrain (ibid., 38-9; Kāmil, X, 497).

This incident is also described by Michael the Syrian, who says that Zangī knew he would be defeated but that he managed to hold out for one day. Then the two Artuqid cousins quarrelled and Dā'ūd withdrew. Zangī pursued Temūr-Tash and then made peace with him (Chronique, 240-1).

201. For Zangī's capture of Hamā, cf. Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 228; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 246. Ibn al-Athīr gives the date as 523/1129 (Atabegs, 35; Kāmil, X, 463-4).

202. Other sources state that Zangī did not succeed in his attempt to capture Hims that year (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda 246; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 464; Ibn al-Qalānisi, 228).

Ibn al-Azraq does not mention Zangī's capture of Aleppo but he is generally ill-informed about Aleppan affairs. For Zangī's conquest of Aleppo in 522/1128 cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 242. Ibn al-Furāt, citing Ibn Abī Tayyī', says that Zangī took the citadel of Aleppo on 10 Muharram 522/15 January 1128 (f.2a).

203. Once again, Ibn al-Azraq has a different date from other sources.

Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn Khallikān put this event in 527/1133 (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 47; Kāmil, XI, 2-3; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, I, 330).

204. His full name was Abū Saʿīd Jaqar b. Yaʿqūb al-Hamadhānī; his laqab was Nasīr al-Dīn. He had been made governor of Mosul by Zangī and was "tyrannical, unjust, a shedder of blood and a violator of property" (Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, I, 329).

205. When Zangī heard that the caliph al-Mustarshid was approaching Mosul with 30,000 men, he left the city at once with some of his troops. Whilst Jaqar defended Mosul vigorously against the caliph, Zangī cut off al-Mustarshid's food supplies. After three months, the caliph returned to Baghdad (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 47).

According to Ibn Khallikān, Jaqar had already fortified and entrenched the city and he resisted the attacks of the caliph, forcing him to retire. This episode occurred in Ramadān 527/ July 1133 (Wafayāt, I, 330).

206. For a description of the duties of the mutawallī, cf. Horst, Staatsverwaltung, 70.

207. The influence of the powerful Nīsānid family in Āmid is discussed in some detail by Van Berchem (M. van Berchem and J. Strzygowski, Amida [Heidelberg, 1910], 55).

208. **الثمرة** "rapport de la terre" (Dozy, Supplement I, 164).

209. Cahen suggests that al-Nāsīh ʿAlī b. Ahmad incited his new master, Temūr-Tash, against his old lord, the ruler of Āmid ("Diyār Bakr", 244-5).

210. For a discussion of the functions of a provincial department of finance in Saljuq times, cf. Horst, Staatsverwaltung, 51. For a description of the office under the Saljuqs of Rūm, cf. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı devleti, 103).
211. Ibn Shaddād says that Ibn Mukhtar and al-Nāsīh were brothers (Jazīra, f.103a).
212. Cf. p. 378 n. 136.
213. This 'Uqailid ruler of Qal'at-Ja'bar was the son of Shams al-Daula Sālim b. Mālik who died in 519/1125 (cf. Zambaur, op.cit., 135). Sālim b. Mālik had received this citadel and al-Raqqā from Malik-Shāh when the latter had removed him from Aleppo. When Sālim grew old, he entrusted these two citadels to his son, Mālik (Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f.24a).
- There is, however, doubt about the laqab of Mālik b. Sālim. Ms.A and Ibn Shaddād refer to him as Najm al-Daula, whilst Ms.B, al-'Azīmī and Ibn al-Furāt write Shihāb al-Dīn (Ms.B., f.109b; al-'Azīmī, "Chronique", 396; Ibn Furāt, Duwal, f.2b). Zambaur writes Shihāb al-Daula (op.cit., 135).
214. The post of vizier at Mārdīn was clearly more important than that at Mayyāfāriqīn. Ibn al-Azraq never explicitly states that Temūr-Tash's main residence was at Mārdīn, although other sources refer to him as the "lord of Mārdīn". Habashī was empowered the following year (531/1136-7) to conduct an inspection of the officials at Mayyāfāriqīn. This rapidly degenerated into a purge (cf. p.303 n.330).
215. These anecdotes about the fluctuating fortunes of officials in these chaotic times reveal the frequency with which posts

changed hands and the ease with which officials could move around seeking positions with different rulers within a limited geographical area. It was clearly a regular practice for officials to be tortured so that they would divulge the whereabouts of their ill-gotten gains. Such money was often hidden in the citadel.

It is interesting to note that Zangī never kept all his money in one place, preferring to spread it over several citadels in case he should lose all his wealth at once (Atabegs, 80).

216. Ms.A appears to have this name as al-Malikīn Abu'l-Barakāt b. Abu'l-Fahr al-Harrānī. Ms.B and Ibn Shaddād make much better sense with al-Makīn ... Abu'l-Fahm (Ms.B., f. 109a ; Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f.103a).

The reading of Ms.B is confirmed by Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 275) and by al-^cAzīmī who writes that this man was arrested in Aleppo in 535/1140-1 ("Chronique", 419).

217. Ibn al-Azraq's accounts of the conflicts between the caliphs al-Mustarshid and al-Rāshid and Sultan Mas^cūd are probably the most valuable parts of his work. They are treated summarily here, since they form the basis of a forthcoming article of mine on the relationship between caliph and sultan in the twelfth century, an article which developed naturally from the unusually detailed anecdotes found in Ibn al-Azraq's text.

218. Ms.A: ونهب العسكر

This is probably a scribal error. The sentence is misplaced here. It is repeated later on f.165a, where it is more appropriate to

the context. In both cases, it would read better as **ونهب المعسكر**

219. For other accounts of the conflict between al-Mustarshid and Mas'ūd, the battle of Day Marg and the subsequent death of the caliph, cf. Ibn al-Jāuzī, Muntazam, X, 41-50; Ibn al-Tiqṭaqā, al-Fakhrī 521-3; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mir'āt, 156-7; Bundārī, Zubdat, 176-8; Husainī, Akhbār, 108; al-'Azīmī, "Chronique", 410; Ibn Khallikān, I, Wafayāt, 506; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 14-17; idem, Atabegs, 48-50; Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail 248-50).

Ibn Wāsil has taken this passage and uses it with certain changes in his work, Mufarrij al-Kurūb fī Akhbār Banī Ayyūb, 58-68. Comparisons will be made from time to time between his text and that of Ibn al-Azraq.

220. For a biography of this important official, cf. Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam, X, 206. There his name is given as Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm Abū 'Abdallāh b. al-Anbārī and his laqab as Sadīd al-Daula. Ms.B also has Sadīd al-Daula.

Ibn al-Anbārī held the office of Kātib al-inshā' for a long time, went as ambassador to Sanjar and held a correspondence with al-Harīrī (ibid.). He lived from 469-558/1076-1163.

221. In his transcription of this passage, Amedroz misreads **كسره** and writes **اسره** (Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 250, n.1).

222. Ms.A: **وعارضوا الخليفة في املاكه**

These words are copied verbatim by Ibn Khallikān in his biography of Sultan Mas'ūd (cf. Chapter II, p.41). Ibn Wāsil changes this phrase to read: **وعارض الخليفة في اقطاعه**
 "The caliph resisted in his territory" (op.cit., 58).

223. According to the biography given by Ibn al-Jauzī, 'Alī b. Tīrād al-Zainabī was born in 462/1069-70 and died in 538/1143-4

(Muntazam, X, 109). He is often mentioned by Ibn Khallikān (Wafayāt, III, pt.1, 156-7, 239, 287). He served as vizier both to al-Mustarshid and to al-Muqtafī in whose appointment he played a key role (Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam, X, 106; Ibn al-Tiqtāqā, al-Fakhri, 525-6).

224. Ibn Wāsil changes the name Jamāl al-Dīn Ṭalḥa to Kamāl al-Dīn. The person mentioned here is most probably Kamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khāzin who held office as vizier to Mas'ūd for a short time in 533/1138-9 (Klausner, op.cit., 39-40).

Ibn al-Athīr calls him Ibn Ṭalḥa (Kāmil, XI, 15). Ibn al-Furāt speaks of a madrasa built by Ibn Ṭalḥa the treasurer (Duwal, f.129b).

225. Baghdad and its surrounding area proved to be the region where the sultan's authority was most vulnerable and where his representative, the shihna, was often at loggerheads with the caliph. For a detailed analysis of this question, cf. A.H.Siddiqi, Caliphate and Kingship in Medieval Persia (Lahore, 1942).

226. Ms.A: **ورتب صاحب المخزن على دار السلطان للمظالم والبلد**

This phrasing is rather obscure. Ibn Wāsil solves the problem by removing the words **والبلد** and writes:-

ورتب صاحب المخزن للنظر في المظالم

"He appointed the treasurer to administer the mazālim (court)" (op.cit., 59).

For a description of the mazālim court, cf. A.K.S.Lambton, "The Internal Structure of the Saljuq Empire", CHI, V, 227-8. Cf. also Uzuncarsili, Osmanli devleti, 9-10.

227. An equally acceptable reading of Ms.A would be

إلى ابن نمضى وبين نعتضد وإلى من نلتجى

Cf. Ibn Wāsil, op.cit., 59.

228. Ms.B, f.110b: "No two people would have disagreed with him" (i.e. nobody at all).

229. "I think the same way as my master". The treasurer had divined the intention of the caliph and complied with it.

230. Here Ibn Wāsil adds the explanatory comment that the caliph was quoting from al-Mutenabbī (op.cit., 59).

231. Ms.B من العجز ; Ms.A من الغبن

As is more often the case, the wording of Ms.B is correct.

232. Ibn al-Qalānisi attributes the blame for al-Mustarshid's rebellion and subsequent defeat to these Turkish amīrs (Dhail, 249).

233. Cf. p. 398 n. 219.

The battle took place on 10 Ramadān 529/24 June 1135 (Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 14).

234. Cf. p. 397 n. 218.

235. The office of naqīb al-nuqabā' was also known as naqīb al-'alawiyyin.

Klausner cites this office as an instance of the combination of religious and administrative functions in Saljuq times. 'Alī b. Tīrād, who had previously been naqīb al-nuqabā' (chief of the 'Alids), served as vizier to two caliphs (op.cit., 26-7).

For a description of how the office of naqīb came into being, cf. R. Levy, A Baghdad Chronicle (Cambridge, 1929), 161-2.

236. "Serdjihan est un chateau dans les montagnes du côté du Deilem; il domine la plaine de Qazwin ainsi que Zendjan et Abhar C'est une des citadelles les plus belles et les mieux fortifiées que j'aie vues" (C.A.C. Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire géographique de la Perse, extrait du Moudjem oul bouldan [Paris, 1861], 307).

Rāwandī also mentions this citadel (Rāhat, 338 and 366).

Mustaufī says it was five farsakhs from Sultāniyya and was destroyed by the Mongols (Barbier de Meynard, op.cit., 307, n.1).

237. An even more humiliating fate awaited Sultan Sanjar after his capture by the Ghuzz.

238. Ibn Wāsil: **ثلاثة نفر من الملاحدة الباطنية**
(op.cit., 60). Cf. also Ibn al-Furāt (Duwal, f.133b).

239. Both Ibn al-Jauzī and Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī mention that Ibn Sakīna was killed too (Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam, X, 49; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, 156).

240. The dates given by the sources for al-Mustarshid's death may be tabulated as follows:

Ibn al-Azraq, Ms.A:	Thursday, 16 Dhu'l-Qāda 529
Ibn al-Azraq, Ms.B:	Thursday, 26 Dhu'l-Qāda 529
Ibn Khallikān:	14 or 28 Dhu'l-Qāda 529 (<u>Wafayāt</u> , I, 506)
Ibn al-Jauzī:	Thursday, 17 Dhu'l-Qāda 529 (<u>Muntazam</u> , X, 49 and 53)
	(Sunday 29 August 1135)
Ibn al-Athīr:	Sunday, 17 Dhu'l-Qāda 529 (<u>Kāmil</u> , X, 17)
Ibn al-Qalānisi:	Thursday, 28 Dhu'l-Qāda 529 (<u>Dhail</u> , 250)
Bundārī:	Thursday 28 Dhu'l-Qāda 529 (<u>Zubdat</u> , 178)

The only version which fits the day of the week with the correct

date of the month is that given by Ibn al-Jauzī.

241. For the brief caliphate of al-Rāshid, cf. Ibn al-Tiqṭaqā, al-Fakhrī, 529-31; Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam, X, 54-62; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 22-4, 26-7; Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 256-7; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 259-60; al-Husainī, Akhbār, 108-9; Rāwandī, Rāhat, 228-9; Abu'l-Fidā', Mukhtasar, III, 10-13; al-ʿAzīmī, "Chronique", 410-11.

The dates for the beginning of his caliphate may be tabulated as follows:-

Abu'l-Fidā':	Monday, 27 Dhu'l-Qa'da 529 (<u>Mukhtasar</u> , III, 10).
Sibt b. al-Jauzī:	Monday, 17 Dhu'l-Qa'da 529 (<u>Mir'āt</u> , 158).
Ibn al-Athīr:	Monday, 26 Dhu'l-Qa'da 529 (<u>Atabegs</u> , 50).

242. Ibn Wāsil implicates both Sanjar and Mas'ūd in the caliph's death. He describes how on the day that the caliph was killed, a messenger brought a letter to Mas'ūd from Sanjar. Its overt contents were an order that Mas'ūd should honour the caliph and restore him to his throne. Its hidden message was that he should get rid of him. When the caliph had been murdered, Sultan Mas'ūd made an elaborate show of grief (op.cit., 61).

A similar account is given by Bar Hebraeus who says that two letters were sent; in the secret one, Sanjar rebuked Mas'ūd, saying:- "Why didst thou not kill the khalīfah during the confusion of war?" (Chronography, 259).

243. By virtue of his long tenure of office and the support which he enjoyed in Iraq, al-Mustarshid was a difficult opponent to eliminate or to mollify. Perhaps this was the reason that Mas'ūd felt the need to apply to Sanjar for permission to kill al-Mustarshid. Since Sanjar was based at Merv, a courier would

need time to make the return journey to Mas'ūd. Perhaps this was why he delayed the killing of al-Mustarshid until he reached Marāgha.

244. Here Ibn al-Azraq does not lay the blame for al-Mustarshid's murder either on Sanjar or Mas'ūd but simply presents the evidence before him. He is apparently unaware of this when he later describes Mas'ūd as the murderer of both al-Mustarshid and al-Rāshid (Ms.A, f.175b).
245. Dubais was killed at a judicious moment (Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, I, 506; al-ʿAzīmī, "Chronique", 410; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 251). According to Ibn Khallikān, Dubais died exactly one month after al-Mustarshid, on 14 Dhu'l-Hijja 529 (Wafayāt, I, 506). Cf. also Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Bugyat, 250; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 18-9; Sibṭ al-Jauzī, Mir'āt, 154.
246. The son of Ibn Jahīr and the son-in-law of Nizām al-Mulk.
247. The daughter of Nizām al-Mulk who married ʿAmīd al-Daula b. Jahīr was called Safiyya, not Zubaida (Bosworth, "Iranian World", 60). The marriage is recorded by Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 41. Cf. also Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mir'āt, 155.
248. Ms.B gives this name as Nizām al-Mulk al-Hasan b. Ishāq (f.1116). This title is the wrong way round and is incomplete. It should read Abū ʿAlī al-Hasan b. ʿAlī b. Ishāq (E.E.Herzfeld, "Eine Bauinschrift von Nizām al-Mulk", Der Islam XII (1921), 98).
249. Guhar Khatun, the daughter of Il-Ghāzī, had escaped falling into the hands of al-Bursuqī in 517/1123-4 when all the wives and concubines of Dubais, except herself and one other, had been taken prisoner (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 26).

250. For the burial of Dubais at Mārdīn, cf. Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, I, 504; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mir'āt, 155.
251. According to Ibn Khallikān, the sultan was afraid of the odium which the murder of al-Mustarshid would arouse. He therefore decided to kill Dubais and to try to persuade the world that Dubais had instigated the caliph's death (Wafayāt, I, 506).
252. According to Ibn al-Jauzī, the name of the naḡīb al-nuḡabā' was Abu'l-Ḥasan b. al-Mu'ṣṣammar. Ibn al-Jauzī confirms that he died when he was brought down from the citadel (Muntazam, X, 55). No doubt the sultan asked to see his eminent prisoners upon ordering their release from the citadel.
253. Ibn al-Azraq does not relate the events which preceded Sultan Maṣ'ūd's visit to Baghdad in 530/1135-6 when he subjected the city to a protracted siege. Al-Rāshid received a delegation of amīrs, including Zangī, who were clad in mourning clothes, at the beginning of Ṣafar 530/1135-6. These amīrs succeeded in persuading al-Rāshid to rebel and on Friday 14 Ṣafar, 530 he had the Khutba said in the name of Dā'ūd, not Maṣ'ūd (Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam, X, 55).

254. Ms.A

كل يوم من حيث ولي المسترشد

"From the moment al-Mustarshid assumed power". For the use of the conjunction من حيث . cf. Chapter III, p. 96 . Ibn Wāsil has: من حين تولى ابيه لم يترك الخروج علينا (op.cit., 61).

255. This no doubt refers to the way in which the early Saljuq rulers had generally raised the status of the 'Abbāsid caliphate and more particularly to the support given by Toghrīl to al-Qā'im.

256. This speech by Mas'ūd is an admirable summary of the later Saljuq sultans' attitude towards the caliph. As Guseynov expresses it: "The sultans were attentive to the caliphs in everything that did not touch on their own sovereignty" (Guseynov, "Sultan i Khalif," 128).
257. تدبیر is a difficult word to translate. It implies a skill in arranging matters.
258. This passage is found almost verbatim in Ibn al-Furāt who copies it from Ibn Wāsil (Duwal, f.133b).
259. 'Abbāsid caliph 467-487/1075-94.
260. This is scarcely surprising.
261. 'Abbāsid caliph 487-512/1094-1118.
262. Ibn al-Athīr confirms that there were a large number of princes of the 'Abbāsid house at this time. Twenty of them were present at the ceremony of allegiance to al-Rāshid (Atabegs, 50).

Sibt b. al-Jauzī borrows detail from Ibn al-Azraq here. He states that al-Rāshid had some twenty children when he became caliph and that his first child had been born to him when he was nine years old (Mir'āt, 158).

Presumably this lengthy list of 'Abbāsids is included to indicate that there was a wide choice for a suitable caliph to be found.

263. The phrase يطلع عليهم is rendered by Ibn Wāsil as يطلع على اسرارهم (op.cit., 62). Ibn Wāsil's phrase may be translated as "was privy to their secrets." This is one occasion where Ibn al-Azraq relies on an eye-witness account but does not divulge his source.

264. Ibn Wāsil omits parts of this account, probably because of propriety.

265. **قتل السلطان مسعود صدقه بن دبیس**

This passage is extremely garbled. It is well known that Sultan Mas'ūd killed Dubais b. Sadaqa one month after the death of the caliph al-Mustarshid. Dubais' murder occurred on 14 Dhu'l-Hijja 529 (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Bughyat, 249).

Ibn al-Azraq has already described the killing of Dubais in its right place, after the murder of al-Mustarshid (Ms.A f.165b). Here, the author cites the month and year of Dubais' murder but gives the name as Sadaqa b. Dubais.

Ibn al-Azraq then makes a rare personal comment, casting doubts on the reliability of his source (**واظنه وصفا**). His own suggestions to clarify the report, however, are disastrously inaccurate.

Qaracha al-Sāqī was the atābeg of Saljuq-Shāh b. Muhammad. He was killed not by Mas'ūd but by Sanjar in 526/1132 (al-Husainī, Akhbār, 101).

As for the name **منكورس**, this is probably a reference to Mengü-Bars who was appointed governor of Fārs in 526/1132 by Sultan Toghrīl, who made him atābeg to his son, Alp Arslan (ibid.). Mengü-Bars was not killed until 532/1138 (Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 39).

266. **نقد سلطان ياخذ ازنه فيمن يولى**

Ibn Wāsil interprets this sentence as follows:

**ارسل السلطان مسعود الى عمه السلطان سنجر ليستشيره
فيمن يولى الخلافة**

- "Sultan Mas'ūd sent to his uncle, Sultan Sanjar, asking his advice as to whom he should appoint" (op.cit., 63).
267. The account by Ibn al-Athīr given in his History of the Atabegs of Mosul resembles that of Ibn al-Azraq in certain important details, although the order of events differs. In Ibn al-Athīr's version, al-Rāshid was first deposed. Then Mas'ūd took advice on a suitable person to succeed as caliph. The vizier, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī, recommended Abū 'Abdallāh b. al-Mustazhir. Although someone else spoke up against this nomination, Abū 'Abdallāh was chosen (Atabegs, 53).
268. Ms.B explains more clearly:- "At that time Sharaf al-Dīn (al-Zainabī) was naqīb al-nuqabā'; then he was transferred to the vizierate."
269. Ibn Wāsil is more explicit:- "Keep the matter hidden lest the affair be noised abroad and al-Rāshid bi 'llah should kill his uncle, Amīr Abū 'Abdallāh" (op.cit., 63).
270. Zangī was besieging Damascus when he received Rāshid's request for help in Baghdad. He made peace terms with Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd b. Būrī and moved on to Hamā before going to Baghdad (Ibn Wāsil, op.cit., 63-4).
271. Ibn al-Azraq's informant greatly simplifies the complicated events in Baghdad at the time of the deposition of al-Rāshid. His account implies that Zangī alone was involved in the resistance to Mas'ūd. Other sources, however, make it clear that many more amīrs joined in the uprising against Mas'ūd; their number included Dā'ūd b. Mahmūd b. Malik-Shāh, lord of Āzarbāijān, Sadaqa b. Dubais, lord of Hilla and Ibn al-Ahmadīlī.

The caliph had Dā'ūd's name mentioned in the khutba at Baghdad and he paid Zangī 30,000 dīnārs (Ibn Wāsil, op.cit., 64; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 22-4).

272. According to Yāqūt, this fertile area on the eastern side of Baghdad was greatly devastated under the Saljuqs ("Reisen", 406).
273. For the office of hājib, cf. Uzuncarsili, Osmanlı devleti, 35-6; Horst, Staatsverwaltung, 18; Lambton, op.cit., 226.

According to Lambton, there was a certain blurring of functions between the wakīldar and the amīr hājib towards the end of Sultan Muhammad's reign (ibid.). The term hājib al-bāb may well be a calque of wakīldar.

274. **الصائح** "crieur, crieur public". (Dozy, Supplément I, 856).
275. Once again, Ms.B is more accurate with its version of the text (**الحريم الطاهري**). For a description of the Tāhirid Harīm in Baghdad, cf. G. Le Strange, Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate (Oxford, 1900), 119-21. This palace had the rights of sanctuary granted to it.

According to the sources cited by Le Strange (ibid., 121), it was the populace of Baghdad who plundered the Tāhirid Harīm in 530/1136 after the siege of the city by Sultan Mas'ūd. At this point, much wealth was removed from the palace (ibid., 120-1).

276. The family of al-Zainabī was conspicuous in the office of naqīb al-nuqabā' and also as viziers and qādīs. The chief qādī mentioned here is the cousin of the vizier, Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī. This cousin was called 'Alī b. al-Husain and is mentioned by Ibn al-Jauzī (Muntazam, X, 109).
277. Jalāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Ridā b. Sadaqa was appointed vizier by al-Rāshid in 529/1134-5 (al-ʿAzīmī, "Chronique", 410; Ibn al-Tiqṭaqā, al-Fakhrī, 531).

278. Ms.A writes 17 Dhu'l-Qāda 530. This date has been changed in the translation to 12 Dhu'l-Qāda. Given the day-by-day sequence of events described here, beginning on 10 Dhu'l-Qāda, the date required here should be 12 Dhu'l-Qāda. The day after, which is the day suggested by Mas'ūd for the pledging of allegiance to al-Muqtafi, should logically be 13 Dhu'l-Qāda. Fortunately, this hypothesis is supported by Ms.B, which has: فلما كان من غد
وهو الثلاثاء ثالث عشر ذي القعدة
- "The following day, which was Tuesday 13 Dhu'l-Qāda...."
279. Ibn Wāsil changes حكم to اعتق (op.cit., 67).
280. Ibn al-Athīr also mentioned Ibn al-Karkhī's role in the deposition of al-Rāshid (Atabegs, 53). Ibn al-Karkhī was consulted because the chief qādī was no longer in Baghdad but was with Zangī in Mosul (Kāmil, XI, 27).
281. This account is also found in Ibn al-Furāt (Duwal, f.144b).
282. Ms.B has al-Mustadī bi-Nūr Allāh.
283. The position of wakīldar was that of a "middle-man" between the ruler and his subjects. He was also responsible for the checking of the sultan's farmāns (Horst, Staatsverwaltung, 17). The wakīldar, the "keeper of the household", was supposed to be eloquent and knowledgeable, as well as tactful and understanding concerning the moods and temper of the sultan" (Klausner, op.cit., 18, citing Bundārī, Zubdat, 93-4).
284. The Ms. has a lacuna here. Ibn Wāsil, who copies this passage, has 492 (op.cit., 68).
285. The dīwān al-inshā', "the state chancery", was the department responsible for conducting correspondence at home and abroad, as well as for drawing up deeds (Horst, Staatsverwaltung, 31).

286. Ms.A: al-Amīr Ḥājib; Ms.B: al-Amīr Ḥājib Tatār.
287. Ms.A has Najm al-Daula b. Mālīk. For a discussion of this name, cf. n. 213 . The correct reading should probably be Shihāb al-Dīn Mālīk.
288. This unnamed son of Mālīk b. Sālīm is Badrān (cf. n. 336).
289. Ibn Shaddād gives a brief description and history of al-Raqqa and lists its rulers with his customary inaccuracy over names (Jazīra, f.24).
290. Ibn al-Azraq calls Musayyib the son of Mālīk. Ibn Shaddād says he is Mālīk's brother, appointed by Mālīk to govern al-Raqqa (ibid.). Musayyib is mentioned by Ibn Khallikān, who does not, however, specify who he is (Wafayāt, I, 505). De Slane is not sure, either. He calls Musayyib "probably a near relative to Badrān" (ibid., 507, n.6). Ibn al-ʿAdīm agrees with Ibn al-Azraq, calling him Musayyib b. Mālīk (Zubda, 257).

Zangī took al-Raqqa from Musayyib on 20 Rabīʿ II 529 by means of a ruse, in which he asked merely for a bath for himself and his men. Once inside the citadel, he gained possession of it (ibid.).

291. Ms.B calls this person Nizām al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Aḥmad b. Nizām al-Mulk. This man served as vizier to Sultan Muḥammad (Klausner, op.cit., 106) and then to the caliph al-Mustarshid (Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 428). Ibn al-Athīr calls him Nizām al-Dīn too, whilst Klausner uses the laqab Diyāʾ al-Mulk (op.cit., 137). This son was but one of the many descendants of Nizām al-Mulk who held high office. He died in 544/1149 (cf. Ibn al-Ṭīqṭaqā, al-Fakhrī, 526-7).

292. For a description of Anūshīrwān b. Khālīd, cf. Ibn al-Tīqtaqā, al-Fakhrī, 527-9 .

There was great professional rivalry between Anūshīrwān and Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī (ibid., 528). Anūshīrwān was appointed vizier to the caliph al-Mustarshid in 526/1131-2 (Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 480).

293. This man also held the office of vizier twice. He died in 522/1128. Cf. Ibn al-Tīqtaqā, al-Fakhrī, 523-5.
294. According to al-Husainī, al-Rāshid was afraid that Zangī would come to an arrangement with Mas'ūd to hand him over. He therefore left Mosul with the intention of going to Sultan Sanjar in Khurāsān. Al-Rāshid, hearing that al-Muqtafī had been appointed caliph, wrote to Sultan Sanjar at the beginning of Ramadān 531, complaining bitterly about Sultan Mas'ūd and asking for military help. When he received a negative response from Sanjar, al-Rāshid made for Iraq but was killed whilst at Isfahān (Akhbār, 108-9).
295. According to Abu'l-Fidā', al-Rāshid went to Dā'ūd in Āzarbāijān and Dā'ūd and other border lords agreed to help to restore him to the caliphate. After Mas'ūd had routed Dā'ūd, the latter fled to Fārs, whilst al-Rāshid went to Isfahān (Mukhtasar III, 13). Cf. also Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 39-40.
296. Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī gives the exact date of al-Rāshid's death as 27 Ramadān 532 (Mir'āt, 167), whilst Ibn al-Athīr has 25 Ramadān 532 (Kāmil, XI, 41).
297. According to Yāqūt, Shahrīstān was situated beside the Zāyanda Rud. The tomb of al-Rāshid was situated there (Barbier de Meynard, op.cit., 520).

298. The scribe had more difficulty than usual with these Persian words. The usual forms are زندروذ and زندرود.
299. Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī analyses the murder of al-Rāshid in more detail than the other chroniclers. He says that there are differing reports on this event. Al-Rāshid was either poisoned; or killed by some Persians in his service; or murdered by the Ismā'īlīs, who were sent by Sanjar and Mas'ūd (Mir'āt, 167).
300. Jalāl al-Dīn Abū'l-Ridā b. Ṣadaqa was appointed vizier to Zangī on the death of Diyā' al-Dīn b. al-Kafartūthī in 536/1141-2. He was dismissed two years later (Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 276; Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 277; al-'Azīmī, "Chronique", 422).
301. For a discussion of Saljuq-Shāh, cf. p. 386 n. 170.
302. The Sanāsuna (Armenian Sanasnaik; Greek Sanasounitai) were the inhabitants of the region of Sasun to the west of Bitlīs (Canard, Hāmdanides, 185). They pillaged armies and caravans. Cf. also Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 184.
303. The lord of Akhlāt in 533/1138-9 was Sukmān b. Ibrāhīm (cf. Appendix A).
304. Khūwīth (also known as Khoit) lay in a mountainous district to the east of Sasun. It was inhabited by the Khuwaithiyya (cf. Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 206; Canard, Hāmdanides, 185).
305. On f. 163b Ibn al-Azraq mentions the death of Sultan Toghrīl who according to him was murdered in 527, whilst the majority of sources agree on Muharram 529/October-November 1134 (cf. n. 161). Here "Malik Toghrīl" is said to have died in 529 outside Damascus.

This report is therefore most confused. Either this is a second reference to Sultan Toghrīl's death with the correct

date but the wrong place (Sultan Toghrīl died outside Hamadhān) or the reference concerns Malik Toghrīl Arslan b. Qīlīch Arslan of Malatya (cf. n. 180).

306. Cf. f. 163a.

307. Badr al-Daula Sulaimān had been made governor of Aleppo in 516/1122 by ʾIl-Ghāzī after the latter's own son, Shams al-Daula Sulaimān, had rebelled against him. Badr al-Daula Sulaimān held Aleppo only for a short time since Balak took it from him in Jumādā I 517/June 1123 (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Bughyat, 198).

During his tenure of Aleppo he had begun building a madrasa there in 517/1123. After Zangī conquered Aleppo, he transferred the body of his father to the madrasa and finished building it (ibid., 106-7).

Badr al-Daula Sulaimān married one of the daughters of Malik Ridwān (ibid., 216-7). It is not clear if the daughter in question was Farkhundā Khatun or another one. Farkhundā Khatun had married ʾIl-Ghāzī when he took Aleppo (cf. f. 162b) but the union was unconsummated. She then married Balak (ibid.) Zangī had also married a daughter of Malik Ridwān (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 244).

308. كك: Sauvaget attests the name Köpek as a proper name (op.cit., 54). Cf. the Rūm Saljuq official Saʿd al-Dīn Köpek or the early 14th century Transoxanian ruler of the same name.

309. Al-Sūr is listed by Ibn Shaddād amongst the citadels of Diyār Bakr (Jazīra, f.65b). Michael the Syrian places it near Mārdīn (Chronique, 250).

310. Ibn al-Azraq's chronology is probably erratic here. It would appear from other accounts that Zangī attacked Āmid first and

then made for the citadel of al-Ṣūr. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Zangī took al-Ṣūr because he failed to take Āmid. The battle outside Āmid took place in Jumādā II, 528; the conquest of al-Ṣūr occurred in Rajab, 528 (Kāmil, XI, 6-7). The account of Ibn al-Qalānisi is similar to that of Ibn al-Athīr (Dhail, 243). Cf. also Usāma, Memoirs, 185.

311. Probably because of his undeniably pro-Artuqid bias, Ibn al-Azraq never explicitly states that Temūr-Tash became the vassal of Zangī. Al-ʿAzīmī has no such deference for the Artuqids. He specifically says that in 528/1133-4 Husām al-Dīn became the vassal of Atabeg Zangī and went with him to fight Dāʿūd b. Artuq ("Chronique", 408). No doubt as a reward for his services, Zangī gave Temūr-Tash al-Ṣūr.
312. MsA: Jandāl b. Aslam; Ms.B and Ibn Shaddād (Jazīra, f.103a): Hamdān b. Aslam.
313. Tall Shaikh was situated below Mārdīn and Ḥiṣn Kaifā. It was a frequent meeting place for troops in the twelfth century (Cahen, Syrie, 215, n.35).
314. Zangī's attack on Āmid is described in a number of sources: Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 243; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 249-50; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 6-7; idem, Atabegs, 48. Cf. also M.H.Yinanc, "Diyarbakir", IA, 614.

According to Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dāʿūd met Zangī and Temūr-Tash outside Āmid. Dāʿūd was routed, some of his sons were taken prisoner and many of his men killed. The battle took place on the last day of Jumādā II, 528/April 1134. Zangī then laid siege to Āmid but was unsuccessful and withdrew (Dhail, 243).

315. Cahen points out that there were two places with very similar names, Tanza and Tanzi. Tanza was situated near Hattākh, to the north of Mayyāfāriqīn, although Cahen is not sure of its exact position ("Diyār Bakr," 224-5). The other, better-known place was in the region of Is'ird (cf. Minorsky, "Kurds", EI²).
316. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 6-7; idem, Atabegs, 48; al-^ʿAzīmī, "Chronique", 409; Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 243.
- For Kafartūthā, cf. Canard, Rʿamdānides 99; Le Strange, Lands, 97.
317. Shams al-Daula Toghan Arslan al-Ahdab fought as the vassal of Il-Ghāzī. He was ruler of Arzan and Bitlīs (cf. n. 64). Ibn al-Qalānisī puts his death in 532/1137-8 (Dhail, 267).
318. For a definition of the term rabad (plural arbād), cf. E. Lévi-Provençal, "rabad", EI. Lévi-Provençal defines a rabad as the district of a town situated outside the central part, the madīna.
319. For a description of this part of Mayyāfāriqīn, which had its own mosque, bazaars and khāns, cf. Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f.71a.
320. Ms.B and Ibn Shaddād state that the work of demolition began on 9 Muharram 530. Presumably these two areas of Mayyāfāriqīn were destroyed as a preventive measure since Temūr-Tash could not defend it satisfactorily against the depredations of his cousin Dā'ūd.
321. Jabal Jūr was to the north of Mayyāfāriqīn near al-Sīwān and Dhu'l-Qarnain (cf. the map at the back of volume II of this thesis).
322. The scribe of Ms.A consistently writes the name of this citadel as بالقرنين . Ibn Shaddād calls it Ḥiṣn Dhi'l-Qarnain

(Jazīra, f.65b).

The source of the Tigris lay below a castle called Dhu'l-Qarnain, north of Mayyāfāriqīn (Quatremère, Mongols, 362).

In 516/1122 a copper mine was discovered near the citadel and from that date onwards its resources were exploited (Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 215). Taylor visited this place in 1862-3 (J.G.Taylor, "Travels in Kurdistan, with Notices of the Sources of the Eastern and Western Tigris, and Ancient Ruins in their Neighbourhood", The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society 35 [1865], 21-58.)

323. Jabal Jūr, Dhu'l-Qarnain and al-Sīwān were all three the possessions of Dā'ūd and were handed over to Temūr-Tash. No doubt Dā'ūd's hostility in 530/1135-6 may be attributed to this. Ibn al-ʿAdīm lists Zangī's conquests as al-Sūr, Bār'ī a, Jabal Jūr and Dhu'l-Qarnain and says that Zangī presented them all to Temūr-Tash. He kept only Tanza for himself (Zubda, 253).
324. Cf. Appendix B.
325. In an earlier passage, Ibn al-Azraq *writes* that the capture of al-Hattākh was in 528/1133-4 (ʿAwad, 254).
326. According to Michael the Syrian, the fortress of al-Hattākh had not yet been in Turkish hands but had remained in the possession of the Banū Marwān (Chronique, 264).

In 355/965-6, al-Hattākh was considered the frontier of Byzantine territory. It was six farsakhs north-east of Mayyāfāriqīn (Canard, Ḥamdānides, 256).

Cf. also Tihirānī, Kitāb-ū Diyārbakriyya II, 210, 388; Markwart, Sūdarmenien, 249; Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 13.

Taylor visited the ruins of this place in 1862-3 (op.cit., 39).

327. Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī relates that in 531/1136-7 the lord of Mārdīn took the citadel of al-Hattākh, the last remaining possession of the Marwānids in Diyār Bakr (Mir'āt, 161).

The date of 531 for Temūr-Tash's capture of the citadel is confirmed by Ibn Abī Tayyī' in Ibn al-Furāt, Duwal, f.93b.

In the earlier passage, Ibn al-Azraq says that many of the members of the Marwānid family stayed in the service of Temūr-Tash ('Awad, 254).

328. Ḥabashī had entered Temūr-Tash's service in 528/1133-4 after being in Hamā with Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yaghī-Sīyanī (Ms.A, f.164b).

329. The ʿummāl (sing. ʿāmil) were the tax-collectors from the dīwān-i istīfā -yi mamālik of Saljuq Iran. They were responsible to the local mustaufī for the collection of taxes in a particular area. According to Lambton, Nizām al-Mulk recommended that the ʿummāl should be changed every two or three years to prevent their becoming too powerful locally (op.cit., 254, 258, 260).

330. The mutasarrifūn were the subordinates of the ʿummāl (ibid., 258).

331. The ʿamīd was another term for ʿāmil (Klausner, op.cit., 20).

332. The word muhtasib is only a tentative suggestion. The Ms. is damaged here.

333. Ms.A: Najm al-Daula Mālik b. Mālik. This should read Shihāb al-Dīn Mālik b. Ṣalīm.

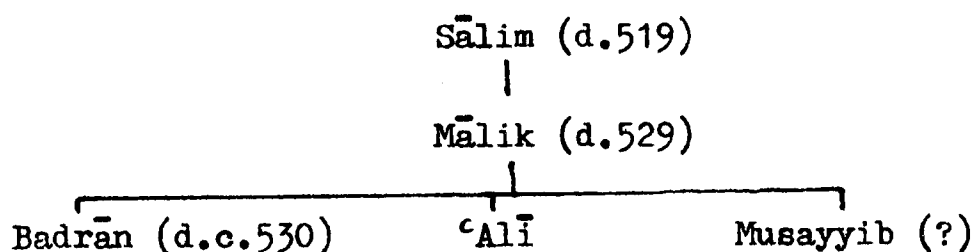
334. The conquest of al-Raqqā by Zangī has already been mentioned on f.167a.

335. Cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm (Zubda, 258). Zangī attempted unsuccessfully

to take Damascus on this occasion.

336. Badrān b. Mālīk was the son of the union between his father and a beautiful Frankish girl who had been taken prisoner on a pilgrimage to Afāmiyya. After her husband's death (in 529), Badrān's mother left Qal'at Ja'bar, went to Sarūj which was in Frankish hands and married a shoemaker (Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f.34a).
337. According to Ibn Shaddād, 'Alī b. Mālīk killed his brother in 533/1138-9 and then remained in the citadel until Zangī attacked it in Dhu'l-Hijja 540/May-June 1146 (Jazīra, f.34a).

A tentative genealogy of the late Uqailids might be as follows:



338. This digression into North African history is unusual for Ibn al-Azraq. Normally, he looks no further than Egypt. He displays none of the scruples shown by Ibn al-Qalānisi in his account of the rise of the Almohads. The latter historian is aware of the unreliability of some of his sources but nevertheless devotes much time to Maḡribī material (Dhail, 291-3).

It seems probable that to contemporary Muslims the religious significance of these events transcended the remote area in which they occurred and impressed Muslims as far away as Syria and the Jazīra. Ibn al-Athīr devotes a much longer section than Ibn al-Qalānisi to the rise of the Almohads (Kāmil, X, 400-14).

339. **المصامدة** Cf. EI¹ s.v. "Masmūda". A broken plural Masāmida is also found. The Masmūda were one of the principal Berber ethnic groups. Their home was the High Atlas mountains of Morocco.
340. There is great uncertainty about the chronology of the early events of the life of Ibn Tūmart. He was born between 471/1078-9 and 474/1081-2 (A.H.Miranda, Historia Politica del Imperio Almohade [Tetuan, 1956], I, 24). According to al-Marrākushī, he went on his important journey to the east in 501/1107-8 ('Abd al-Wāhid al-Marrākushī, Kitāb al-Mu'jib fī talkhīs akhbār al-Maghrib, ed. R.P.A.Dozy [Leiden, 1847], 129).
341. The full name of 'Abd al-Mu'min was 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī b. 'Alawī al-Kūmī (al-Marrākushī, op.cit., 141).
- For an account of the momentous encounter between Ibn Tūmart and 'Abd al-Mu'min, cf. ibid., 130.
342. The date of 519/1125-6 given by Ibn al-Azraq is much too late. Miranda puts the return of Ibn Tūmart to the Maghrib in 511/1117-8 (op.cit., I, 38).
343. According to Julien, the majority of chroniclers give 514/1120-1 as the date for the arrival of Ibn Tūmart in Marrākush (C.A. Julien, History of North Africa, tr. J.Petrie [London, 1970], 100).

Marrākush was not Ibn Tūmart's first port of call. He had already visited Tripoli, al-Mahdiyya, Tūnis, Būjiyya, Fās and Sāla (A.H.Miranda, op.cit., I, 39-46). Whilst at Fās, he had engaged in theological debate and the fugahā' had recommended his expulsion "lest he should corrupt the minds of the populace" (al-Marrākushī, op.cit., 132).

344. According to Miranda, Ibn Tūmart met ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn in the mosque at Marrākush and told him to correct the wrongs committed in his country. Ibn Tūmart then met the fūqahā of Marrākush. These men were mere casuists, used only to dealing with practical legal matters. They could not maintain a theological discussion with Ibn Tūmart. The exception amongst them was Abū ʿAbdallāh Mālik b. Wuḥayb (op.cit., 53-4).
345. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn had assumed the title of amīr al-muslimīn after his first major victory against the Castilians in 1086 (J.M.Abun-Nasr, A History of the Maghrib [Cambridge, 1971], 98). Cf. also Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, III, pt.1, 207-9.
346. ʿAlī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn ruled the Almoravid empire from 500/1106 - 537/1142 (C.E.Bosworth, The Islamic Dynasties [Edinburgh, 1967], 28).
347. Mālik b. Wuḥayb was persuaded by the envious fūqahā to denounce Ibn Tūmart as a dangerous innovator, who would corrupt morals and rebel against the Almoravid empire, provoking its ruin. Mālik therefore advised ʿAlī to imprison Ibn Tūmart. ʿAlī, however, opted for the compromise solution of expulsion (Miranda, op.cit., I, 54-5).
- According to al-Marrākushī, Mālik advised ʿAlī to kill Ibn Tūmart (op.cit., 133).
348. The year 520/1126-7 is much too late for Ibn Tūmart's expulsion from Marrākush. Miranda gives 514/1120-1 (op.cit., I, 59).
349. Ibn Tūmart's tribe was the Hargha (al-Marrākushī, op.cit., 128). The Hargha were one of the Masmūda tribes (Abun-Nasr, op.cit., 103).

350. Ms.B adds "they refused to fulfil the obligations imposed on them" (f.118b).

After leaving Marrākush, Ibn Tūmart went to Aghmat and Tinmal. The latter was the heart-land of the Masmūda tribes and afforded him an excellent strategic position (Miranda, op.cit., 59-61; Julien, op.cit., 101). In the Atlas mountains, he organised a regular state with revenues drawn from taxation and fanatical troops ready for war (ibid., 103).

351. The meaning of these lines is confused by the ambiguity of the personal pronouns used. There would appear to have been two encounters between the troops of amīr al-muslimīn and the forces of Ibn Tūmart. On the first occasion, it seems that Ibn Tūmart was victorious since the amīr al-muslimīn thereafter took the field in person. In this second encounter, it was probably the amīr al-muslimīn who won.

Information is sparse about the early conflict between the Almohads and Almoravids. Abun-Nasr says that the struggle between them began in earnest only in the last year of Ibn Tūmart's life (op.cit., 106). Julien mentions one encounter between them, in 516/1122-3 when Ibn Tūmart's forces were victorious (op.cit., 103). Miranda also describes a skirmish in 517/1123-4 between 'Alī's army, under the leadership of Ibrāhīm b. Ta'aiyast, and Ibn Tūmart's forces. In the ensuing battle Ibn Tūmart achieved a great victory (op.cit., 61, 68-9). The name given in Ms.A as 'Abdallāh b. Māwiya is written by Miranda as 'Abd Allah b. Ya'ālā b. Malwiya. This man was certainly not killed in these early fights since he took part in the campaign against Marrākush in 524/1130 (ibid., 84).

352. After the fighting in 517/1123-4, Ibn Tūmart spent the next year organising his affairs. He strengthened the citadel at Tinnal. The winter of 523-4/1128-9 was spent in preparation for the attack on Marrākush (ibid., 71-9).
353. Mss.A and B both have the mountain of Aran (ارن). Ibn al-Qalānisī correctly writes Daran (درن) (Dhail, 292). Mount Daran is in the High Atlas (Abun-Nasr, op.cit., 216).
354. Ibn al-Azraq's facts are extremely inaccurate here. Ibn Tūmart died after the siege of Marrākush, not before.

According to al-Marrākushī, Ibn Tūmart sent out an army to Marrākush in 524/1129-30, under the leadership of ‘Abd al-Mu’min. At the ensuing battle between the Almoravids and the Almohads which took place at Buhaira, the Almohads were defeated. That same year, Ibn Tūmart died (op.cit., 138-9).

Julien puts the siege of Marrākush and the ensuing defeat of the Almohads at an earlier date, 522-3/1128 (op.cit., 103). Miranda, however, gives the exact date of the battle as Saturday, 2 Jumādā I 524 (13 April, 1130). Ibn Tūmart died in Ramadān 524/August 1130 (Miranda, op.cit., 83-4, 87). Ibn Tūmart's death was apparently concealed for more than two years (Julien, op.cit., 104).

For the life of Ibn Tūmart, cf. also Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, III, pt.1, 209-21.

355. Ms.A: ‘Alī al-Waranshī. The correct name of this associate of Ibn Tūmart is ‘Abdallāh b. Muḥsin al-Wansharishī (Miranda, op.cit., 46). He joined the service of Ibn Tūmart shortly after ‘Abd al-Mu’min. He would probably have succeeded Ibn Tūmart

if he had not been killed at Buhaira, thus allowing ‘Abd al-Mu’min to step into the limelight (ibid.) Al-Wansharishī was commonly known as al-Bashīr.

Ibn al-Azraq is right to say that al-Wansharishī participated in the siege of Marrākush. Indeed, according to Abun-Nasr he led the troops jointly with ‘Abd al-Mu’min (op.cit., 106). But al-Wansharishī did not take over the Almohad leadership after the death of Ibn Tūmart, as Ibn al-Azraq states, since he was himself killed at the battle of Buhaira.

356. ‘Abd al-Mu’min succeeded Ibn Tūmart but concealed his death until his own authority was stronger (Julien, op.cit., 104).
357. Ms.A has 503.
358. ‘Abd al-Mu’min first stayed in the mountain area, where he was stronger, and gradually conquered southern Morocco (Julien, op.cit., 104; Abun-Nasr, op.cit., 107). He took the lands of the Almoravids bit by bit until only Marrākush remained (al-Marrākushī, op.cit., 145).
359. The order of events is wrong here. The conquest of Spain and Ifriqiyya occurred after the death of Tāshufīn b. ‘Alī and the conquest of Marrākush.

For the conquest of Ifriqiyya, cf. al-Marrākushī, op.cit., 162-4. For the conquest of Spain, cf. ibid., 151 and 159.

360. ‘Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn had died in 537/1142-3 and had been succeeded by his son, Tāshufīn (al-Marrākushī, op.cit., 145). The date given by Ibn al-Azraq for the death of Tāshufīn tallies with that of al-Marrākushī - 540/1145-6 (ibid., 146).

361. Tāshufīn died by accident. Julien says it was as a result of falling off a horse (op.cit., 105). One report said that the Almohads crucified his dead body (al-Marrākushī, op.cit., 146).
362. This is possibly a Sūfī term.
363. The year 542/1147-8 is much too early for ‘Abd al-Mu’min’s conquest of Tūnis. This occurred in 554/1159-60 (al-Marrākushī, op.cit., 163).
364. Al-Marrākushī describes Tūnis as "the capital of Ifriqiyya after al-Qairawān and the seat of its government" (op.cit., 162).
365. Cf. Abu’l-Qāsim ‘Ubaidallāh b. ‘Abdallāh b. Khurdādhbih, Kitāb al-masālik wa’l-mamālik, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden, 1889), 87:-

بسورها احدى وعشرون الف ذراع

This is not the same as twenty-one miles.

366. This sudden return to the history of the Jazīra before the Maghribī episode is finished is typical of Ibn al-Azraq’s disordered approach.
367. Ms.A gives this name as **شاروخ**. It is probably intended to be Shāhrūkh, although Ibn Shaddād calls him **سبا روخ**.

This amīr had ruled Hānī as early as 497/1103-4 and had served Duqaq (‘Awad, 268-9). No doubt because of his advanced age, Dā’ūd allowed him to remain in Hānī until he died.

368. Cf. al-Marrākushī, op.cit., 106.
369. The date of 532/1137-8 is much too early for the capture of al-Mahdiyya. This city was taken some time after the end of 553/1158-9 on the campaign which gave ‘Abd al-Mu’min Tūnis and Tripoli too (al-Marrākushī, op.cit., 163-4). Julien gives the exact date of 22 January 1160 for the conquest of al-Mahdiyya

but he does not state his source (op.cit., 112).

370. **برینی (?) مرسی** (?) This reading is only tentative.

The Mss. are very unclear.

371. This second mention of al-Mahdiyya does not refer to the city of that name mentioned in the preceding footnote which is on the east coast of Tunisia, between Sousse and Sfax. Instead, it is a reference to the present city of Rabāt, which for a short time bore the name al-Mahdiyya when it was a small military station founded by 'Abd al-Mu'min (cf. G. Marcais, "al-Mahdiyya", EI¹; E. Lévi-Provençal, "Rabāt", EI²). According to Julien, 'Abd al-Mu'min built Rabāt as early as 545-6/1150 (op.cit., 113).

372. **برینی**

Graf cites a form **بری** which is a vulgar version of **برانی** "earthly" (G. Graf, Der Sprachgebrauch der Ältesten christlich-arabischen Literatur [Leipzig, 1905], 84). It may be used here to indicate its position inland (cf. barr, which means land, as opposed to sea). Alternatively this word **برینی** may be some form of **برانی**, "foreign", "external".

It is difficult to say what the other city mentioned by Ibn al-Azraq might be. 'Abd al-Mu'min founded many towns and restored a great number of others. He also repaired several sea-ports to shelter his fleet (E. Lévi-Provençal, "'Abd al-Mu'min", EI²).

373. 'Abd al-Mu'min died not in 540/1145-6 but on 27 Jumādā II, 558/May 1163 (al-Marrākushī, op.cit., 168).

374. It is interesting to note that Ibn al-Azraq's attitude to Ibn Tūmart and the Almohads remains neutral. He does not indulge in the hostile invective of Ibn al-Qalānisi who dwells more on

- the religious implications of the movement. Ibn al-Qalānisi is of course closer in time to the events than Ibn al-Azraq and the former deals only with the beginnings of the Almohad state.
375. Ibn al-Azraq's account broadly tallies with other accounts of the Byzantine emperor's campaign into Syria. The Byzantine emperor at that time was John Comnenus. Cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 262-8; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mirʾāt, 161-3; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 264-5; al-ʿAzīmī, "Chronique", 414; Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 55-6.
376. Buzāʿā was 45 km. north-east of Aleppo. Cf. J. Sourdel-Thomine, "Buzāʿā", EI².
377. Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, who puts the conquest of Buzāʿā in 531/1136-7, mentions under the following year that the people of Aleppo and Buzāʿā were in an uproar in the mosques because of the treatment they had received at the hands of the Byzantines (Mirʾāt, 163).
378. According to Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zangī did not ask for help from Dāʿūd. On the contrary, Zangī sent Qara Arslan b. Dāʿūd specific orders to rejoin his father, saying that he did not need him (Zubda, 268).
379. For an analysis of this Byzantine campaign, cf. Cahen, Syrie, 359-60.
380. Cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 57; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 266; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mirʾāt, 65. Ibn Khallikān gives a precise date: Saturday 6 Ramadān 532 (Wafayāt, I, 541).
381. Cf. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 262; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mirʾāt, 165; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 266-7.

382. According to Ibn al-Qalānisi, Zangī took Hims in Ramadān, 533/ May 1138 (Dhail, 266).

Qir-Khan had been Zangī's prisoner for some years.

383. Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd was murdered on 23 Shawwāl 533/23 June 1139 (Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 268-9; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 272; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mirʾāt, 169, 171-2).
384. Shihāb al-Dīn was in fact not succeeded by his son, as Ibn al-Azraq says, but by his brother, Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad, whom Muʿin al-Dīn Unur placed in power, having summoned him from Baʿalbak (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 272; Ibn al-Qalanisi, Dhail, 269).

385. Ms.A: **واباح الجند كلها**

Ms.B: **واباح العسكر الناس واموالهم ونساءهم**

اباح "the making of a thing allowable; lawful taking; it bears a meaning similar to spoliation" (Lane, op.cit., I, 273).

The more common construction would be the use of a direct object (for the thing plundered) and li for the persons allowed to perform the action.

386. Husām al-Daula Qurtī had succeeded his father as ruler of Arzan and Bitlīs in 533/1138-9 (or in 528/1133-4, if Ibn al-Azraq's date is to be trusted).

For further details on this ruler, cf. Minorsky, Studies, 85-6. Citing Vardan, Minorsky relates how Qurtī, whose brutality is also described by Ibn al-Qalānisi, placed the skulls of his enemies' heads on the ledges of a minaret (ibid., 86).

387. This name appears in Ms.A as **مرجى**. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, on the other hand, has **كرجى**.

388. The death of Sav-Tegin al-Karjī and Zangī's subsequent acquisition of Harrān is recorded in 533/1138-9 by Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 271.

Harrān was an important town in Diyār Mudar. It was the centre of the Sabians and was situated four farsakhs from Edessa (Canard, H'amdānides, 93).

As is his custom, Ibn Shaddād lists the rulers of Harrān. They are as follows:-

497/1103-4	Chökermish
502/1108-9	Il-Ghāzī
516/1122-3	Balak
521/1127-8	Zangī, who granted the town as an <u>iqṭā'</u> to Sav-Tegin (the date of his death is not given)
544/1149-50	Qutb al-Dīn Maudūd
547/1152-3	Zain al-Dīn 'Alī Küçük (<u>Jazīra</u> , f.16b)

389. Cf. Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 246; Anon.Syr.Chron., 278.

390. Ibn Shaddād relates that in (5)33/1138-9 Zangī and Temür-Tash quarrelled and that Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (from Hamā) went to Mārdīn to make peace between them (Jazīra, f.103b).

Later on in his obituary notice to Temür-Tash, (Ms.A, f.176b), Ibn al-Azraq explains that the disagreement arose because Zangī was angered by Temür-Tash's refusal to hand over Amīr Abū Bakr, lord of Naṣībīn, who had taken refuge with him.

Presumably the marriage with Temür-Tash's daughter and the acquisition of Dārā formed part of the peace-treaty. Cf. also al-'Azīmī, "Chronique", 417; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 271. Ibn al-'Adīm says that Zangī took Rās 'Ain (sic), Jabal Jūr and Dhu'l-Qarnain at the same time (ibid.).

391. This man was a valuable informant for Ibn al-Azraq (cf.n. 220).

392. For the marriage of al-Muqtafi to Fātima, the daughter of Sultan Muhammad and sister of Sultan Mas'ūd, and for other details about this woman, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 31; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mir'āt, 161; Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam, X, 67, 72; Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, III, pt.1, 239. Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Ibn Khallikān and Ibn al-Athīr say the marriage took place in 531/1136-7. Ibn Khallikān says Fātima could read and write.
393. The Bāb al-Hujra was the Privy Chamber Gate. The caliph al-Mustarshid added a great hall to the Tāj Palace in Baghdad and this was called by the name of its gateway. He and succeeding caliphs used to sit there bestowing robes of honour on their favourites or ministers (Le Strange, Baghdad, 259-60).
394. ملاک "fiançailles" (Dozy, Supplément, II, 614).
395. Amongst Sultan Mas'ūd's other wives were the daughter of Dubais (Ms.A., f. 165 b ; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mir'āt, 164) and the daughter of his uncle Qavurt Beg (ibid.).
- Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī puts the marriage of Sultan Mas'ūd to the daughter of al-Muqtafi in 532/1137-8 (ibid.).
- Lambton points out that marriage alliances and occasionally appointments to the vizierate (that is, the caliphal vizierate) were a means of controlling the caliph in Saljuq times (op.cit., 212).
396. Cf. n. 276.
397. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī had been the person responsible for the appointment of al-Muqtafi, who was his son-in-law. He was therefore rewarded with the post of vizier to the caliph, a function which he had also performed under al-Mustarshid (cf.n. 223).

398. Here Ibn al-Azraq correctly calls this important official Kamāl al-Dīn, rather than Jamāl al-Dīn (cf.n. 224).
399. From the context, Ibn al-Azraq probably studied works on fiqh. Two Shāfi^cite works with this title and of the correct historical period are listed by Brockelmann. These are the Kitāb al-Talkhīs fī ʿilm al-farāʾid, written by Abū Ḥakīm ʿAlī b. Ibrāhīm b. ʿAlī al-Khabrī (d.476/1083-4) and Al-Ushnuhiya fī ʾl-farāʾid by Abū ʾl-Faḍl ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-ʿAziz al-Ushnuhī, who flourished around 505/1111-2 (C.Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur [Leiden, 1943], I, 486 and 489).
400. This is probably a reference to Abū Mansūr al-Muzaffar al-Shahrazūrī who is mentioned by Ibn Khallikān. He was born in 457/1064-5 and became qādī of Sinjār "at a very advanced age" (Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 498).
401. The fasīh refers to the Kitāb al-Fasīh of Tha^clab, which was studied at this time in the Nizāmiyya madrasa (Fück, ʿ Arabiyya [Paris, 1955], 179).
402. The work referred to by Ibn al-Azraq as the ʿ Umda is probably the Kitāb al-ʿUmda fī furūʿ al-Shāfiʿiyya, which was composed by Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Mustazhirī (d.507/1113-4) (Brockelmann, op.cit., I, 489 and Supplement, I, 674).
403. Jawālīqī (466/1073-4 - 539/1144-5) wrote a number of works, including a dictionary of foreign words called al-Muʿarrab. He also taught at the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Baghdad (ibid.). Cf. also Brockelmann, op.cit., I, 126.
404. Abū ʾl-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Abi ʾl-Bakā al-Mubārak b. Muḥammad, also called Ibn al-Khall, was born in 482/1089-90 and died in

552 3/1157-9. He was a doctor of the Shāfi'ites and wrote a work in the form of a commentary on Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī's book, the Tanbīh. Ibn al-Khall called his own commentary Taujīh al-Tanbīh (Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 631-3).

According to Ibn al-Furāt, Ibn al-Khall resided in a madrasa built by (Kamāl al-Dīn) Ibn Talha (Duwal, f.129b).

405. According to de Slane, al-Razzāz was the head of the Shāfi'ites at Baghdad. He was born in 462/1069-70 and died in Dhu'l-Hijja 539/May-June 1145 (Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, III, pt.1, 312, n.2). 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī studied at the Nizāmiyya under al-Razzāz (ibid., 306).

406. Ms.A: **جماعة الفقهاء من الشيخ**

The word min is misplaced. The text has therefore been amended to read:-

جماعة من الفقهاء [منهم] الشيخ

The word minhum has been added.

407. 'Abd al-Qādir Gīlānī (d.562-3/1166) was the famous spiritual leader who gave his name to the Qādiriyya branch of Sūfīs (A.Bausani, "Religion in the Saljuq Period", CHI, V, 297).
408. Abu'l-Hasan al-Damghānī was a chief qādī and also served as deputy vizier to the caliphs al-Mustazhir and al-Mustarshid (Klausner, op.cit., 26, citing Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam, IX, 208). Cf. also Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 232. His descendants were conspicuous in the office of chief qādī (Klausner, op.cit., 128). Cf. also Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mir'āt, 179.
409. According to Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, a person whom he designated Qādī al-Māristān died in 535/1140-1 (Mir'āt, 178).
410. According to Ibn Khallikān, 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī studied

hadīth with Abu'l-Mukārim al-Mubārak b. 'Alī al-Samarqandī
(Wafayāt, III, 307).

411. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Anmāṭī is also mentioned by Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī
(Mir'āt, 148-9).
412. In his obituary notice of 'Alī b. Tirād al-Zainabī, Ibn al-
Jauzī also records this cooling of relations between him and
the caliph. Ibn al-Jauzī outlines the career of al-Zainabī,
mentioning that he had recommended the appointment of al-
Muqtafī who had made him his vizier. Then al-Muqtafī's
attitude changed towards him and al-Zainabī sought refuge in
the sultan's palace (Muntazam, X, 109).

As subsequent events proved, al-Muqtafī was by no means as
malleable and docile as Sultan Mas'ūd had hoped (cf. Ms.A,
f.165b). No doubt the clash between al-Zainabī and his
protégé also arose because al-Muqtafī began to manifest signs
of independence.

413. Ms.B adds: "He took up residence in the house of Najm al-Dīn
Rashīd al-Jāmdār" (f.117a).
414. This person is Ibn al-Anbārī.
415. For the dismissal of al-Zainabī, cf. al-'Azīmī, "Chronique",
418; Ibn al-Furāt, Duwal, f.129b.

416. This office existed amongst the 'Abbāsids, Khwarizmshāhs and Mamlūks, as well as the Saljuqs of Rūm. The ustādh al-dār looked after the sultan's valuables (Uzunçarşili, Osmanlı devleti, 87).
417. For the appointment of Niẓām al-Dīn as vizier, cf. Ibn al-Furāt, Duwal, f. 129b; al-'Azīmī, "Chronique", 418; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 273. Ibn al-Furāt confirms that he had previously been ustādh al-dār.
418. Zangī took Ba'albak in 534/1139 (Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 269; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mir'āt, 172; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 272-3). Ibn al-Athīr gives the date of Dhu'l-Qa'da, 533/June-July, 1139 (Kāmil, XI, 45).
419. This sequence of events, in which Zangī proceeded from Ba'albak to Damascus, is followed by Ibn al-'Adīm. Zangī was unsuccessful in this attempt on Damascus and after protracted negotiations had to be content with the moral triumph of having his name mentioned in the khuṭba and receiving a vague recognition of suzerainty from the new ruler of Damascus, Mujīr al-Dīn Abaq (Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 271-3; Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 58-9; idem, Kāmil, 48-9; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 273-4). For Buṣra, cf. Markwart, Südarmanien, 274.
420. Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī remained in disgrace until his death at the age of seventy-six on Wednesday 1 Ramaḍān 538/1144 (Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam, X, 109). Cf. also al-'Azīmī, "Chronique", 424.
421. This is probably a reference to the head of the finance ministry who under the Saljuqs of Rūm was called sāhib dīwān^{al-}istifā' (Uzunçarşili, Osmanlı devleti, 103). However, the precise

definition of administrative offices in late Saljuq times is very difficult.

422. Cahen tentatively suggests that this quarrel between the two Artuqid cousins had been caused by Zangī's seizure of Bahmard, which had belonged to Dā'ūd, in the previous year ("Diyār Bakr", 247).

423. Both Mss. write **فشاط** ; so too does Cahen (*ibid.*). This is, however, surely a reference to the citadel of Bushāt (cf. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* , 152-3). Lehmann-Haupt described it as a Kurdish stronghold, standing to the north of Mayyāfāriqīn on the road to Inner Armenia (*op. cit.*, 419). It was visited by Taylor, who described it as "a very ancient strong fort called Boshat" (*op. cit.*, 40).

424. Ms. A: **وكان السعيد حاسم الدين قد خرب قلعه بشاط واخذها**
وبنى بها Cahen interprets this sentence to the effect that Temür-Tash had destroyed the citadel, as he could not defend it, but that he restored it ("une forteresse que Timurtāš, ne pouvant la défendre, avait détruite mais qu'il restaura").

It would make at least equally good sense to insert a concessive notion here: "although he had taken and built in it". It is also possible to assume, as no doubt Cahen does, that Temür-Tash subsequently re-captured and re-built the citadel. This latter hypothesis is, however, not confirmed by Ibn al-Azraq's later narrative.

425. I.e. Tall Shaikh and Bushāt.

426. Ms. A: **النهار**; Ms. B: **التهر**. Either of these words makes some sense here. Ibn al-Azraq harps on the raiding of Dā'ūd since he is always biased in favour of Temür-Tash. It would be

possible to interpret the text as referring to the theft of clothes, either in the day-time or from the river, although Ms. B's reading is more plausible.

427. Ms.A: **فدیرجشی امرالمکروالبلد** (?) Ms. B: **وحفظ الک**و

(f. 121b). The word balad seems appropriate,

therefore, to the context, although it is not justified by the partially legible word in Ms. A.

428. Ms. A: **بالدی** In one of the Āmid inscriptions analysed by van Berchem, the form of this name appears as **اللدی** which is very similar to Ibn al-Azraq's version and to that of Ibn Shaddād (**اللدی**). Van Berchem reads the name as Īlaldī (Amida, 57).

For an account of Īl-aldī's death in 536/1141-2, cf.

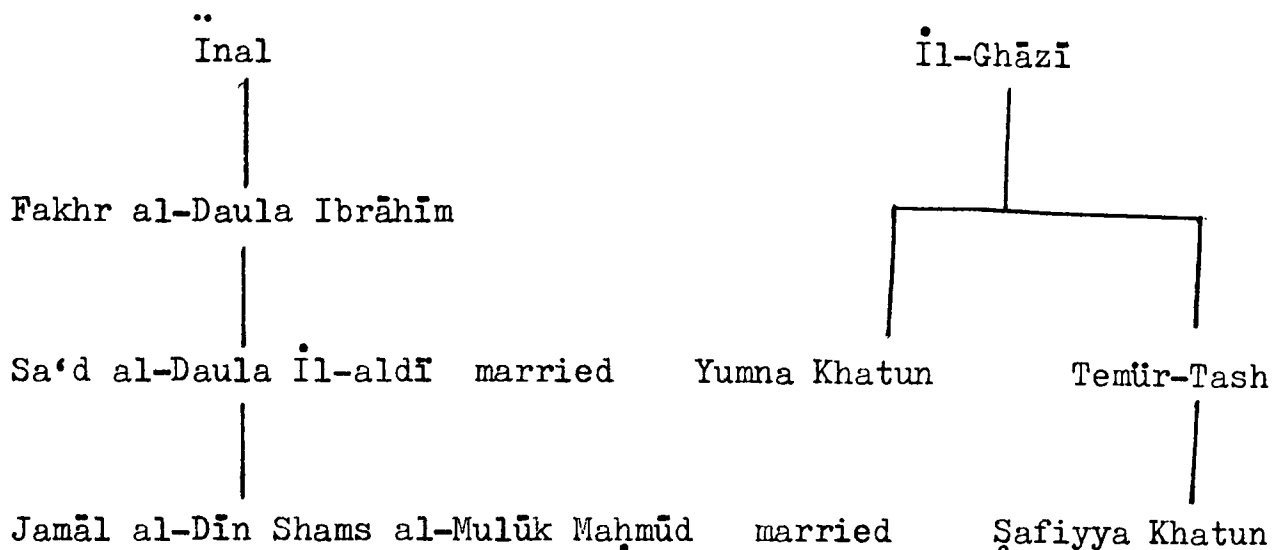
Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 275; al-'Azīmī, "Chronique", 420; Ibn al-Furāt, Duwal, f.136b.

429. Ms. B adds "Ibn Nīsān" here (f. 122a). The most important members of the Nīsānid family were Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad, who became de facto master of Āmid in 536/1141-2, and Jamāl al-Daula Kamāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Qāsim, who succeeded his father and who died in 551/1156-7 (van Berchem, Amida, 55).

430. The history of the family of Inal at Āmid is traced by van Berchem (ibid., 54-5) and is also discussed in some detail in Yinanc's article "Diyarbakir" which is based to a great extent on Ibn al-Azraq's text.

The Turcoman chief Inal founded his own small dynasty at Āmid around 490/1096-7. Thereafter, his family intermarried with the Artuqids. Van Berchem's genealogical table is

reproduced below:-



(op. cit., 55) Whilst this family lasted in power in Āmid for four generations, until the conquests of Saladin, they became increasingly dominated by their viziers, who came from the Nīsānid family (ibid.).

431. A very interesting description of Āmid in 534/1139-40 exists from the pen of an anonymous writer who visited the city at that time. His account is written in the margin of a manuscript of Ibn Ḥauqal and has been translated by Kramers and Wiet. Although the testimony of this unknown writer is biased in favour of the Artuqids, he emphasises the devastation and the chaotic social conditions prevalent in the city, where "not a sign of life was to be found". Because of the tyranny of the Nīsānids, the 'ulamā' and other inhabitants had been forced to move elsewhere (J. H. Kramers and G. Wiet, Configuration de la Terre [Beirut and Paris, 1964], I, 217).
432. Shams al-Mulūk Ismā'īl b. Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī had been killed in 529/1134-5 (Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 246). He was succeeded by his brother, Shihāb al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Būrī, who was killed in

533/1139 (cf. n. 383).

Ibn al-Azraq has confused these two rulers and the order in which they ruled at Damascus.

433. The phrase in Ms. A is incomplete, so **في الولاية** has been added.
434. He had fled Ḥabashī's tyranny in 531/1136-7 (cf. p. 303 f. 168a).
435. Cahen attributes this demand by Zangī to see Ḥabashī as an indication of the deterioration in relations between Zangī and Temūr-Tash, following the rapprochement between the latter and his cousin, Dā'ūd ("Diyār Bakr", 247).
436. According to Ibn al-'Adīm, Zangī made Ḥabashī his vizier in 538/1143-4 (Zubda, 278).
437. **المركب**. Under the Mamlūks, a gift from a ruler included a fully caparisoned horse, covered with a kunbūsh of gold (C. Huart, "Khil'a", EI¹).
438. Ḥabashī was clearly already won over to Zangī's side.
439. Ms. A is very uncertain of this name, which is given as **ابوالوفابن السرطان**. Ms. B is partially correct: **ابوالوفابن السرطان**.
- The real name of this official would appear to be Abu'l-Rijā b. al-Sarṭān. Al-'Azīmī says that he was Temūr-Tash's vizier and that he was seized in 537/1142-3 ("Chronique", 422). The biography of Sa'd Allāh b. al-Sarṭān is given by Ibn al-'Adīm. He was made vizier to Badr al-Daula Sulaimān, the nephew of Īl-Ghāzī, at Aleppo in 517/1123-4. Ibn al-'Adīm does not know where and when Ibn al-Sarṭān died (Bughyat, 197-9).
440. It is not clear from the sources whether Zangī made two campaigns or one to Diyār Bakr and whether he went in

537/1142-3 or 538/1143-4.

Qizil Arslan (**البيع الاحمر**) was a vassal of Īl-Ghāzī and ruled territories south of Lake Van, such as Is'ird, Tanzī and Bahmard ('Awad, 269). Dā'ūd of Ḥiṣn Kaifā snatched most of these territories from Qizil Arslan's son, Ya'qūb (Cahen, "Diyār Bakr", 248). The remainder were now seized by Zangī: Khizān, al-Ma'dan, Irūn and Qaṭalbas.

441. Khizān was a fortress south of Lake Van, north-east of Is'ird and south-east of Bitlīs (cf. Markwart, Südarmerien, 341; Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 78-9, n. 12; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 321; Le Strange, Lands, 114; Tihirānī, Kitāb Diyārbakriyya, II, 33).
442. Al-Ma'dan is described by Ibn al-Athīr as the place where the copper of Armenia is worked (Atabegs, 66).
443. Ibn Shaddād lists the citadel of Irūn amongst the fortresses of Diyār Bakr (Jazīra, f. 65b). Minorsky says it was one of the dependencies of Shīrwān, on the right bank of the Bohtān, below Khizān, north-east of Is'ird ("Kurds", EI¹).
444. For Qaṭalbas, cf. Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f. 65b.
445. These conquests by Zangī in Diyār Bakr are also described by Ibn al-Athīr. As well as listing the places conquered in 538/1143-4, Ibn al-Athīr mentions that in 537/1142-3 Zangī sent threatening messages to the ruler of Āmid who had said the khutba in Dā'ūd's name, instead of his. As usual with Zangī's threats, they were taken seriously and the ruler of Āmid submitted to Zangī's wishes (Atabegs, 64 and 66; Kāmil, XI, 62). Cf. also Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 277; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 277).

446. Tall Bashmī was to the west of Mārdīn (Canard, H'amdānides, 99; Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 21). Cahen puts it due south of Mārdīn on his map ("Diyār Bakr", 222).
447. Having conquered the citadels south of Lake Van, Zangī turned towards the north-west of Diyār Bakr and conquered Ḥānī, Dhu'l-Qarnain and Jabal Jūr. Is'ird is clearly misplaced here and should have been mentioned by Ibn al-Azraq amongst the earlier list of Zangī's conquests (n.440).
448. This must refer to the peace-treaty between Dā'ūd and Temūr-Tash.
449. The names of the murderers of Ḥabashī are much more clearly written in Ibn Shaddād's text than in either Ms. A or Ms. B. In Marsh 333, they appear as **مومل الشاقصي** and **محمد بن ابي المكارم** (f. 104a).
- Al-'Azīmī also mentions the murder of Ḥabashī. He says that Ḥabashī was killed in his tent by a group of Kurds ("Chronique", 422).
450. This would appear to imply that the assassins had been sent by Temūr-Tash, although it is equally likely that having outlived his usefulness to Zangī who had now made important inroads into Diyār Bakr, Zangī then disposed of him.
451. Cahen mistakenly reads this date as 29 Muḥarram 539, citing only Ibn al-Azraq as his source ("Diyār Bakr", 248).
- For an analysis of the events which followed Dā'ūd's death, cf. Setton and Baldwin, op. cit., 460-1; Cahen, "Diyār Bakr", 248-9.
452. The Muḥaddatha mosque was built by the Marwānid, Nāṣir al-Daula, in 423/1031-2 (Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f. 70a).

453. Qara Arslan was not Dā'ūd's eldest son. Arslan Toghmīsh, the eldest, had fled to Zangī (Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 258). He had rebelled against his father at Khartaburt (ibid., 237).

On his return from Zangī, Arslan Toghmīsh took Ḥānī (ibid., 258). He then seized Tall Arsanias, enslaving fifteen thousand Christian inhabitants who had long resisted him (ibid., 265).

454. It is not clear if this is a new campaign or a repetition of the one just described on p. 311.
455. Arqanīn was situated to the west of the Arghana Su (cf. Markwart, Südarmanien, 107, 246, 333; Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 136, 178, 183, 185; Canard, H'amdānides, 78).
456. It has not proved possible to locate al-Hālār.
457. Tall Khūm lay to the west of the road from Āmid to Malaṭya between Āmid and Arqanīn (cf. Canard, H'amdānides, 78; Markwart, Südarmanien, 246, 257; Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 185). Matthew of Edessa, who is cited by Honigmann, says that Tall Khūm was occupied in the eleventh century mostly by Christians (Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 139).
458. Charmūk (also known as Çermik and Djermik) lay on a "left tributary of the Euphrates" (Canard, H'amdānides, 81; Markwart, Südarmanien, 251, 257, 346).
459. According to Ibn al-Furāt, Zangī took from Dā'ūd Bahmard, Tanzī, Khīzān, Arqanīn, Tall Khūm, Charmūk and Ḥānī (Duwal, f. 129b). Ibn al-Furāt adds that according to Ibn Abī Ṭayyi', Zangī also took from Dā'ūd the citadel of Qaisūn which he handed to Temür-Tash (ibid.).

460. According to Bundārī, who also puts Sultan Dā'ūd's death in 538/1143-4, Zangī sent Ismā'īlīs to kill Dā'ūd because Sultan Mas'ūd had decided to send Dā'ūd to Syria (i.e. into Zangī's own area of influence) (Zubdat, 195).

Mas'ūd had nominated Dā'ūd as his successor and sent him to rule Arrān and Armenia (Mustaufī, Guzīda, 347-8).

For Dā'ūd's death, cf. also al-'Azīmī, "Chronique", 423; Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 277.

461. Ms. B has **في شهر الله الاصب**. According to Lane, **الاصب** is apparently a dialectal variant of **الاصم**, an epithet applied to the month of Rajab (Lane, op. cit., I, pt. 4, 1640).

462. Ibn Khallikān gives exactly the same date as Ibn al-Azraq for the capture of Edessa by Zangī (Wafayāt, I, 540). So too does Matthew of Edessa, who says he took Edessa on the feast of St. Stephen, Saturday, 23 December (Chronique, 326).

For other accounts of this event, cf. Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 279; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 64-6; idem, Atabegs, 66-70; Anon. Syr. Chron., 281-6; Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f. 29a; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 260-4.

463. The year 492/1098-9 would appear to be the correct date of the capture of Edessa by the Franks (Matthew of Edessa, Chronique, 218-19; Anon. Syr. Chron., 70-1).

Tāj al-Daula Tutush, however, died in 487/1094-5 (Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 130).

Ms. B erroneously states that the Franks had held Edessa since 442/1050-1 (f. 123b).

464. Al-Bīra was a well-known citadel on the eastern bank of the Euphrates, due west of Edessa and Sarūj.
465. Ibn al-Athīr says that Zangī was on the point of taking the citadel when the news of Jaqar's murder reached him (Atabegs, 70).
466. As Ms. A makes no sense at all here, the version of the text in Ms. B has been used. Ms. A reads:-
 فوصله الخبر ان نصير الدين جقروا وصل الى الموصل وقتل (sic)
467. Jaqar was assassinated at the instigation of the Saljuq malik, Alp Arslan b. Maḥmūd, in Dhu'l-Qa'da 539/April-May 1145. Zangī still used this prince as a fainéant ruler to disguise his own power and was apparently awaiting the death of Sultan Maṣ'ūd before trying to install Alp Arslan as sultan. Death prevented him from doing this (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 71). Ibn al-'Adīm attributes the plot against Jaqar to the other Saljuq malik in Zangī's care, Farrukh-Shāh -- erroneously called Farkhān-Shāh by Ibn al-'Adīm (Zubda, 280-1).
468. Zangī left al-Bīra because he was now afraid for the safety of Mosul (Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 280; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 265).
469. Cf. Ibn al-'Adīm, ibid., 281; Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 72-3.
470. The citadel of al-Bār'ia is mentioned by Ibn al-'Adīm in the context of Zangī's siege of Āmid. It must have been situated near Āmid. Zangī conquered al-Bār'ia at the same time as Ṣūr and Jabal Jūr (Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 254). It would appear from Usāma's account that he was personally present when Zangī took the citadel of al-Bār'ia (Memoirs, 186).

471. The benevolence of the régime of Zain al-Dīn 'Alī Küçük is also stressed by Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 73.
472. Ibn al-Jauzī gives an obituary of a member of the Mu'wajj family, which must have been prominent in Baghdad (Muntazam, IX, 51).
473. Ms. A erroneously writes Shams al-Dīn Īl-Ghāzī.
474. Shams al-Daula Sulaimān was the brother of Temür-Tash.
475. Ms. A: جماعة من مات . This makes better sense with an extra min added.
476. The bodies of Īl-Ghāzī and his son, Sulaimān, must have been taken from the masjid al-amīr in Mayyāfāriqīn to Mārdīn some time between 518/1124 and 529/1135, since in Ibn al-Azraq's account of the death of Dubais in 529/1134-5 he relates that Dubais' body was taken to Mārdīn and buried beside Īl-Ghāzī (Ms. A, f. 165b).

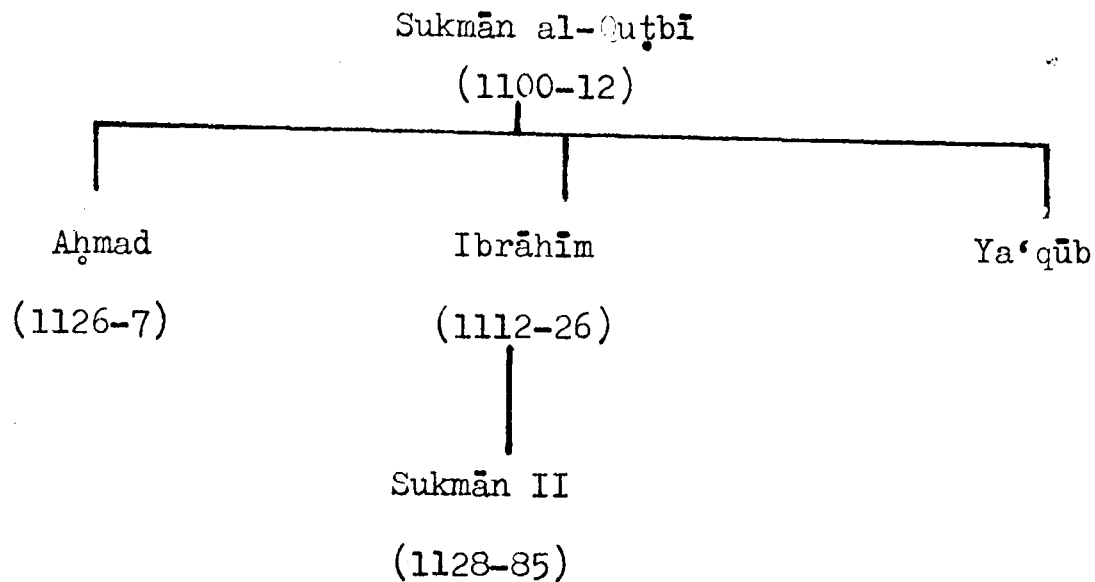
Ibn al-'Adīm states in his biography of Dubais:- "I saw the mashhad in which Dubais is buried. It is to the west of the city of Mārdīn.... The daughter of Īl-Ghāzī b. Artuq, the wife of Dubais, built it" (Bughyat, 250).

It seems probable that Īl-Ghāzī was finally buried in Mārdīn. According to Ibrāhīm Artuk, 'Abd al-Salam, the former mūfti of Mārdīn, writes that Īl-Ghāzī is buried in a hücre in the Aşfar mosque opposite the hospital in Mārdīn (op. cit., 61). Gabriel also mentions the Jāmi' al-Aşfar, which, he says, according to some traditions housed the tomb of Īl-Ghāzī (A. Gabriel, Voyages archéologiques dans la Turquie orientale [Paris, 1940] I, 11).

477. The whole question of the Qaramān bridge is discussed in greater detail by Ibn al-Azraq on f. 171b.
478. Ms. A: **البدنة . انهدمت البدنة** "curtain wall"
(F. Steingass, A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary [London, n.d.], 165). Presumably the wall of the citadel is meant here.
479. The Egyptian vizier was not the first prisoner to escape with make-shift ropes from the lofty citadel of Mārdīn. Sulṭān-Shāh b. Ridwān escaped with ropes from a window of the citadel in 518/1124-5 (Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 220)
480. Bāghīn was a citadel north-west of Mayyāfāriqīn. It is listed by Ibn Shaddād amongst the citadels of Diyār Bakr. He calls it Qalʿat Bāghīn al-Suflā (Jazīra, f. 65b). Cf. also Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 178, 185; Cahen, "Diyār Bakr", 226.
481. This anecdote is an interesting reminder of continuing Ismāʿīlī activity in Diyār Bakr.
482. Temür-Tash obviously paid regular visits to Mayyāfāriqīn from his base at Mārdīn.
483. Ms. A: **وبلغ الامير بلغا عظيما**
A more normal construction here would be the use of **عند** with **الامير**.
484. This is one of the castles of the Ismāʿīlīs listed by Dimishqī (G. Le Strange, Palestine under the Moslems [London, 1890], 352, quoting Dimishqī; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks [Paris, 1923], 114).

The citadel of Abū Qubais is not mentioned by al-Qalqashandī when he enumerates Ismāʿīlī citadels (Al-Subḥ al-Aʿshā fī sināʿat al-inshā [Cairo, 1914-28], XIII, 245).

485. This is a reference to Temür-Tash's son, Najm al-Dīn Alpī.
486. These genealogical facts tally with Turan's family tree of the rulers of Akhlāt, which he gives at the back of his history of Eastern Anatolia.



Najm al-Dīn Alpī married the daughter of Aḥmad. Her mother must also have been married to Ibrāhīm and bore him Sukmān II.

487. The Mss. have the forms Aqramān and Qaramān. Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī calls it the Qaramān bridge (op. cit., 188). Quatremère says there is a mention in the history by Rashīd al-Dīn of **اب قومان** which flowed between Mayyāfāriqīn and Arzan (op. cit., 363). The form Qaramān has therefore been selected.
488. i) Ms. A: **جسراقرامان على القنطرة**
 ii) Ms. B: **جسراقرامان بالقيطوم**

These two divergent readings raise the question of the identity of the bridge. The reading in Ms. A has been chosen.

Cahen, who reads further into Ms. A into the reign of Najm al-Dīn Alpī, states that the work on the bridge was

interrupted twice by floods; once on the occasion analysed in this account and once later, when the bridge was damaged and rebuilt under Alpī.

The stone arch, of more than sixty spans, was one of the wonders of the age (Cahen, "Diyār Bakr", 272, citing Ms. A, f. 179b).

This later description of Ibn al-Azraq where the arched bridge is admired tallies with i). Cahen, on his map of Diyār Bakr, places the Qaramān bridge due east of Mayyāfāriqīn on the Satidāmā (ibid., 222). The Satidāmā (also called the Nymphaeus) is the Batman Su and flows five miles east of Mayyāfāriqīn (Taylor, op. cit., 49).

Further confirmation that the bridge in question was¹ on the Satidāmā/Batman Su is given by Gabriel, who mentions a monumental bridge going back to medieval times which crosses the Batman Su, a tributary of the Tigris, to the east of Mayyāfāriqīn (A. Gabriel, Voyages archaéologiques dans la Turquie Orientale [Paris, 1940], 231).

Gabriel gives a detailed analysis of the bridge, which he also sketches, and says that Sauvaget, who read the inscriptions, established with certainty the name Temür-Tash and the year 542 on the bridge (ibid., 236). Gabriel believes that the bridge which remains corresponds to the initial building project begun in 541/1146-7 (ibid.).

In a later description of the bridge, Ibn al-Azraq writes:-

"Al-Sa'id Ḥusām al-Dīn had begun the building of the Qaramān bridge on the Sātīdāmā river. He built most ~~of it~~, leaving unfinished some of the work for the completion of the arch.

After his death, al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn set about completing it. He built and repaired it and completed the joining of the arch" (Ms. A., f. 179b).

Ibn al-Azraq then describes how this bridge became the model for other bridges in the area, especially the one built by Fakhr al-Dīn Kara Arslan on the Tigris at Ḥiṣn Kaifā (*ibid.*).

ii) The version of Ms. B remains a problem: "the Qaramān bridge on the Qaiṭūm (*sic*)".

It is difficult to assess why Ibn al-Azraq, as a native of Mayyāfāriqīn and its chronicler, should write this, since he must have been extremely familiar with the topography of the area. This variant reading must be due to scribal tampering. One possible interpretation of the reading in Ms. B is that the area Qaiṣūm is meant. Qaiṣūm lay to the west of the Euphrates, in the area of Ḥiṣn Maṣṣūr, due west of Āmid. In this area was an older, even more famous bridge which according to Ibn Ḥauqal was one of the wonders of the world (*Le Strange, Lands*, 123).

For an analysis of early bridges in this area, cf. also F. İlder, "Eine Gruppe der fröhntürkischen Brücken in Südostanatolien", *IVème Congrès International d'Art Turc* (Aix and Paris, 1976), 99. İlder calls the Qaramān bridge the "Malabadi" bridge, dates it between 1145-54 (540-9) and publishes a photograph of it.

489. Ms. A: **واخر به وضعت عمله**

Ms. B: **واخر به لضعف عمله** (f. 126a)

The version of Ms. B has been used since it makes better sense.

490. i) Ms. A: **والنزه الزاهد بعمارتها فاخرج عليه**

ii) Ms. B: **والنزم الزاهد الغرامة** (f. 126a)

i) "Al-Zāhid claimed (money) from him (Temür-Tash) for building it, so he was removed from it (the job)".

or

ii) "He (Temür-Tash) fined al-Zāhid".


ii) seems to make better sense.

491. Ms. A: Saif al-Dīn Shīrbārīk Mamdūd b. 'Alī b. Artuq.

The correct form of this name is Saif al-Dīn Shīrbārīk Mahmūd b. 'Alī b. Alp Yaruq b. Artuq (cf. the genealogical table of the Artuqids).

492. "And he worked on it until 548"/1153-4 (Ms. B, f. 126b).

493. The 'Uqailid ruler of the citadel.

494. This name presents some difficulties. Cahen calls this son of Temür-Tash Jamāl al-Dīn Tafratī ("Diyār Bakr", 251) but he is tentative about his reading. Artuk reads "Tughrati" (I. Artuk, op. cit., unnumbered last page). The disposition of the letters  would also permit the reading "Surbi".

495. Cf. n. 337.

496. Ibn al-Athīr relates that Ḥassān was sent to try to persuade 'Alī b. Mālik to surrender the citadel. He was chosen because of his friendship with 'Alī. He was told by Zangī to offer 'Alī inducements and gifts (Atabegs, 74).

497. Ibn al-Athīr's account is broadly similar to that of Ibn al-Azraq. Ibn al-Athīr also explains the point of 'Alī's pithy comment about Balak and his fortuitous death at Manbij, where Ḥassān was governor (Atabegs, 64).

Ibn Shaddād's account is slightly different:-

"'Alī said: 'Give me until tomorrow'. So Ḥassān said to him:

'What can happen to you tomorrow?' 'Alī replied: 'What happened to Balak...while he was besieging you at Manbij" (Jazīra, ff. 34a-b).

Ibn al-'Adīm suggests that Zangī's offer of money to 'Alī had been accepted but that Zangī subsequently broke faith with him (Zubda, 282). Ibn al-'Adīm also relates the anecdote about Balak (ibid., 283).

498. The dates given in the sources for Zangī's death may be tabulated as follows:-

Ibn al-Azraq: 5 or 9 Rabī' II, 541

Ibn Shaddād: Monday, 6 Rabī' II, 541 (Jazīra, f. 34b)

Michael the Syrian: Sunday, 15 September, 1146 (Rabī' II, A.H. 541) (Chronique, 268)

Ibn Khallikān: Wednesday, 15 Rabī' II, 541 (Wafayāt, I, 541)

Ibn al-Qalānisi: Sunday, 6 Rabī' II, 541 (Dhail, 285)

Ibn al-Athīr: 5 Rabī' II, 541 (Kāmil, XI, 72; Atabegs, 74)

Anon. Syr. Chron.: The night before Sunday, 14 September, 1146 (291).

499. The death of such an important figure as Zangī is overlaid in the sources with a wealth of details and apocryphal anecdotes. In one such anecdote, Ibn Khallikān relates that the poet, Ibn Munīr al-Tarabalūsī, always brought misfortune to those who were with him. Zangī liked his verses when they were read out to him during the siege of Qal'at Ja'bar and he summoned the poet to him. The night Ibn Munīr arrived, Zangī was murdered (Wafayāt, I, 138-43).

500. Ibn al-Qalānisi says that Zangī was murdered by a slave of Frankish origin. He waited until Zangī was drunk and then

killed him in his sleep. He fled to 'Alī in the citadel, who did not believe that he had murdered Zangī but welcomed him (Dhail, 285).

Certainly the most likely person to have murdered Zangī would appear to have been 'Alī, especially since Zangī had apparently not kept faith with him. On the other hand, he could have been killed by partisans of Alp Arslan b. Maḥmūd. It is equally possible that the murderer had some private score to settle with him; Zangī's ferocity was a legend in his own time and he must have been more vulnerable than most contemporary rulers to such personal grudges.

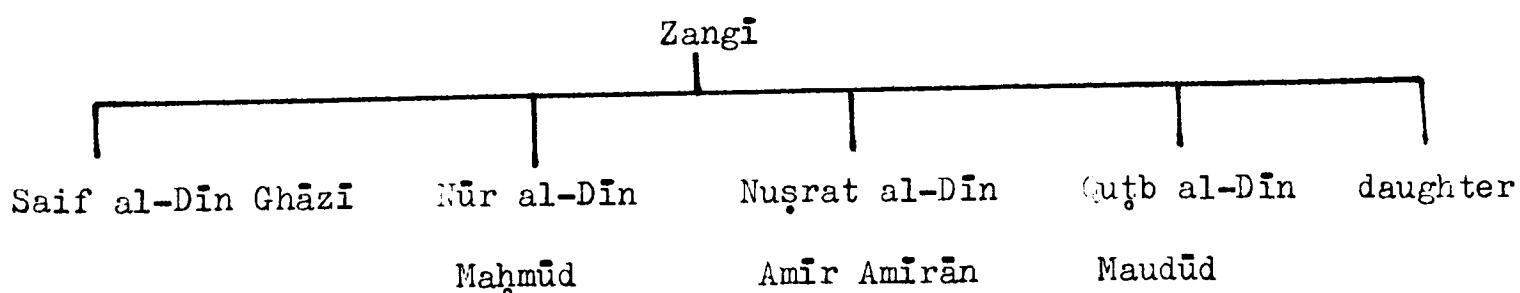
501. The confusion and chaos after Zangī's death is described most graphically by the Anonymous Syriac Chronicle:-

"Fear and confusion fell on the camp; they plundered one another, and each who had a grudge against his neighbour and had the power took vengeance on him..... The guards sacked the tent and camp of Zangī..... All went their own ways" (op. cit., 291).

502. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Jawād al-Iṣfahānī was one of the most important officials employed in high positions by Zangī and by his sons, Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī and Qutb al-Dīn Maudūd (cf. Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mir'āt, 248-50; Bundārī, Zubdat, 211-3).

503. These details are borrowed almost verbatim by Ibn Khallikān from Ibn al-Azraq (cf. p. 46). Ibn al-Azraq does not see any need to explain that the real intention of Jamāl al-Dīn and Kamāl al-Dīn was to conciliate Alp Arslan until Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī could reach Mosul and assume power.

504. The term malik has not been translated here and on the other occasions where it appears in Ibn al-Azraq's text. Saljuq princes were known as maliks in contradistinction to the chief ruler, the sultan (cf. Lambton, op. cit., 218).
505. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yaghī-Sīyani was certainly not the same person as Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Ayyūb, as Ms. A mistakenly suggests.
506. The division of Zangī's forces into two factions is confirmed by other sources (Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 285; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 268). For the establishment of Nūr al-Dīn at Aleppo, cf. Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 289-90; Anon. Syr. Chron., 292.
507. Cf. Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 285; Anon. Syr. Chron., 292; Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 285-6; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, 74.
508. Cf. n. 541.
509. For references to Shahrazūr in the medieval geographers, cf. Le Strange, Lands, 190-1.
510. Ms. B adds: "It is said that he killed the malik".
511. The mustaufī was the head of the dīwān al-istifā' (Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı devleti, 45 and 103).
512. Cf. Ibn Shaddād (Jazīra, f. 59a).
513. The immediate descendants of Zangī who now enter Ibn al-Azraq's history are as follows:-



(cf. N. Elisséeff, Nūr al-Dīn, un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des Croisades [Damascus, 1967] II, 339).

514. For Edessan affairs at the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century, cf. C. J. F. Dowsett, "A twelfth-century Armenian inscription at Edessa", Iran and Islam. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Edinburgh, 1971), 197-227.

For other accounts of the Armenian revolt at Edessa, cf. Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 270; Matthew of Edessa, Chronique, 328-9; Bar Hebraeus, Chronography, 272; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 290; Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 288; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 75.

What Ibn al-Azraq fails to mention in his account is the complicity of Joscelin, who saw the period immediately following the death of Zangī as a propitious moment for the capture of Edessa. An even more important omission by Ibn al-Azraq is the fact that it was Nūr al-Dīn who took Edessa, whilst 'Izz al-Dīn al-Dubaisī arrived before the city too late. Thus, Nūr al-Dīn, not his brother Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī from Mosul, whose associate 'Izz al-Dīn al-Dubaisī was, had acquired the important possession of Edessa (Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 290; Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f. 29b).

515. Ibn Shaddād mentions the two citadels of al-Muwazzar and Jamalīn together. He states that they were situated between Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Bakr, at a distance of one day's journey from Ḥarrān. They were held by the Franks after their capture of Edessa and later by the Artuqids. Zangī fortified al-Muwazzar in 535/1140-1 and Jamalīn in 538/1143-4. After Zangī's death, they were re-captured by the Artuqids (f. 21b).

For Zangī's capture of al-Muwazzar, cf. also Ibn al-Furāt, Duwal, f. 29b.

516. Tall Mauzan was situated on the road from Edessa to Mārdīn. It was a town built of black stones (Canard, H'andaniides, 93; Markwart, Südarmerien, 257; Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 22).
517. Cf. n. 515 .
518. The death of Zangī allowed the minor rulers of Diyār Bakr a new lease of life. Temür-Tash profited at once from this power vacuum to seize these citadels.
519. Qara Arslan acted in similar fashion.
520. The citadel of al-Haithum is mentioned by Ibn Shaddād (Jazīra, f. 65b).

Michael the Syrian says that Qara Arslan invaded the Ṭūr 'Abdīn, which had previously belonged to his father and which Zangī had seized. After numerous massacres he established his power over the area (op. cit., 268).

521. The Shāh-i Arman at this time was Sukmān II.
522. Cf. n. 440 .
523. It would appear that Temür-Tash minted only one issue of coins, which were copper. The few examples that have been found were discussed by Lane-Poole. He mentions four such coins, none of which have a date or the place where they were minted (S. Lane-Poole, The Coins of the Turkman Houses of Seljook, Urtuk, Zengee, etc. in the British Museum [London, 1877], 139-40).
524. Arslan Tughmīsh was the ruler of Mīzgard (cf. n. 453).
525. The sequence of events here is not explained by Ibn al-Azraq. After Arslan Tughmīsh died, Qara Arslan went to take Mīzgard. Temür-Tash profited from Qara Arslan's absence to seize Is'ird and Batāsā.

526. The declaration of suzerainty to Temür-Tash by the lord of Amid and his vizier and their participation in the attack on Is'ird had probably been prompted by fear of Qara Arslan who had attacked Amid around this time (Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 288).
527. Hadiyya Khatun, Temür-Tash's daughter, returned to Hayyāfāriqīn after the death of her husband, Arslan Toghmīsh b. Dā'ūd. She had married him in 539/1144-5.
528. A quarrel between Temür-Tash and Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī was inevitable as soon as the latter had established himself firmly at Mosul. Temür-Tash had, after all, taken back Zangī's possessions after Zangī's death in 541/1146.

Temür-Tash had taken back Dārā but in 544/1149-50 Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī re-conquered it. He extended his authority over a large section of the territory around Mārdīn. He then besieged Mārdīn itself and pillaged the countryside. Temür-Tash was obliged to sue for peace and handed over his daughter Zumurrud Khatun in marriage to Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 91).

Significantly, Ibn al-Azraq maintains a discreet silence over a defeat incurred by Temür-Tash, his former master.

529. Ms. A: **ونهب مائیکا [sic] جماعة**

Since the plural given here is the plural of mamlūk, it has been translated accordingly as "slaves". The proximity of the word jamā'a "group" (of people) strengthens this hypothesis.

530. 'Izz al-Dīn Saltuq was the ruler of Erzerum from 1132-68. He married his daughter to the ruler of Akhlāt, Sukmān II (O. Turan, Doğu Anadolu, 9-10).

531. Ms. B adds that she wanted to perform the pilgrimage.
532. The Khatun was probably prevented from performing the pilgrimage because of the existence of hadīths which forbid a woman to travel alone. She should be accompanied by male relatives. The Khatun of Akhlāṭ was obviously a woman of independent spirit. As Spuler points out, although women had enjoyed a notable lack of restrictions in early Islamic times, they had lost this to a great extent thereafter. He goes on to say that much of the later impetus towards greater freedom for women can be attributed to the irruption of the nomadic Turks into the Near East (B. Spuler, Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit [Wiesbaden, 1952], 380-3).
533. The proper title of this man was al-Mustaufī Mu'ayyid al-Daula Abu'l-Ḥasan b. al-Mukḥṭar. He had first come to Mayyāfāriqīn to take over the dīwān al-istifā' in 510/1116-7 ('Awad, 283).
534. In the provinces, the mushrif was the head of the dīwān al-ishrāf which was the accounting department. The mushrif worked closely with the dīwān al-istifā' (Horst, Staatsverwaltung, 51-2).

535. **في البيعة التي بناها**

Several possibilities may be adduced here:-

- i) The word bī'a may have a more general meaning than "church".
- ii) The word may be read as **بقعة** (place).
- iii) Ibn Mukḥṭar was a Christian and remained one, although he adopted Muslim names.
- iv) Ibn Mukḥṭar was a Muslim but was buried in a Christian building.

Of these possibilities, the third is the most likely.

Mārdīn was a very important centre of Christianity and

Christians would certainly have outnumbered Muslims at this time. High administrative posts were often held by Christians. Even at the time when Niebuhr visited Mārdīn, he found that one-third of the population of the city was still Christian (V. F. Minorsky, "Mārdīn", EI¹, 276).

Quatremère translates the word bī'a as monastery (Mongols, 363) but the Christian affiliation of the building is unquestioned by him.

536. Ms. A has al-Mu'ayyid al-Daula. The al- has been deleted.
537. Al-Ḥāfiẓ died on 5 Jumādā II 544/1149-50 (Wüstenfeld, Fatimiden-Chalifen, 310).
538. Abu'l-Manṣūr Ismā'il was the youngest son of al-Ḥāfiẓ. He was born in 527/1132-3 so he succeeded to the throne when he was only seventeen (ibid., 312).
539. According to Usāma, this man's full name was Saif al-Dīn b. al-Sallār. After al-Zāfir had been forced to appoint him as vizier, Ibn al-Sallār assumed the title al-Malik al-'Ādil. In Ramadān 544/January 1150, al-Zāfir had Ibn al-Sallār put to death (Memoirs, 31-3).

Wüstenfeld corrects this last date to 6 Muḥarram 548 (Fatimiden-Chalifen, 317).

Sallār, the father of the vizier of al-Zāfir, was a Kurd. He had served in the 'askar of Sukmān b. Artuq. When al-Afdal took Jerusalem, he joined the Egyptian army (ibid., 312).

540. Ms. A: **وكان السلطان امير الجيوش العادل السلا من المختفى (?)**
 "The ruler behind the scenes was the amīr al-juvūsh, (al-Malik) al-'Ādil (Ibn) al-Sallār". (?)

The difficulty is the reading **المختفى** which is not very satisfactory. The word might be **المختبى** or **المختنى** (?). Neither reading yields much sense.

541. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī was one of the most famous officials of the age. He exercised great power first at Mosul and then at Damascus. He and his brother, Tāj al-Dīn Abū Tāhir Yaḥyā had been with Zangī at Qal‘at Ja‘bar and after the latter’s assassination they had been instrumental in putting Zangī’s son, Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī, in power. Saif al-Dīn had handed over the running of affairs in Mosul to these two brothers. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī later served the Ayyūbids in Syria and founded madrasas in Mosul and Naṣībīn (Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 646-9; Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam, X, 268).
542. Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī seems to have been the more powerful of the two brothers.
543. Jamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī and Zain al-Dīn ‘Alī Kūçük had been the faithful associates of Zangī. When Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī came to power in Mosul, Jamāl al-Dīn stayed as vizier and Zain al-Dīn was governor and commander of the ‘askar (Elisséeff, op. cit., II, 437). Relations between these two men and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī appear to have become strained and the latter was imprisoned by Saif al-Dīn.
544. Cf. n. 134 and n. 380.
545. This rather complicated description of the administrative posts held by the Shahrazūrī family has been rendered more comprehensible by the occasional addition of nouns instead of ambiguous pronouns.

546. For this use of the verb **خدم**, cf. Dozy, Supplément, I, 354.
547. At the time of the Crusades, there were several kinds of dīnār (gold coins): Imāmī dīnārs struck at Baghdad by the caliph; Amīrī dīnārs struck by the amīrs; Sūrī dīnārs struck by the Faṭimids and red dīnārs possibly struck by the Saljuqs (Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Orientaux [Paris, 1887], II, 115, n. 1).
548. The fact that Najm al-Dīn appointed his son, Bahā' al-Dīn, as qādī of al-Rahba has not been mentioned before.
549. Ibn Khallikān, who borrows this incident from Ibn al-Azraq, corrects the name of Kamāl al-Dīn's son to Jalāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Aḥmad b. Kamāl al-Dīn (cf. supra, p. 43, n. 4).
550. Ibn Khallikān also corrects the name of the son of Tāj al-Dīn to read Diyā' al-Dīn Abu'l-Faḍā'il al-Qāsim b. Tāj al-Dīn (ibid.).
551. This anecdote is written as a continuous narrative by Ibn Khallikān. Ibn al-Azraq resumes the story on f. 174b.
552. For Daqūqā, cf. Yāqūt, Reisen, 440.
553. This is a repetition of events already described on p. 309.
554. Ms. A: **واورد فصلا**
The normal usage would be **حكم فصلا**.
555. Ms. A: Rashīd al-Daula b. al-Anbārī. This should read Sadīd al-Daula (cf. n. 220).
556. The vizier in question is still Niẓām al-Dīn, after his completion of the pilgrimage.
557. For the vizierate of Niẓām al-Dīn Abū Naṣr Muẓaffar b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Jahīr, cf. Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā, al-Fakhri, 533-4; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, 195).

558. Ibn al-Ṭiqṭaqā writes that the vizier Niẓām al-Dīn was succeeded by Mu'taman al-Daula Abu'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Ṣadaqa (al-Fakhrī, 534).
559. Ibn al-Jauzī says that Fāṭima Khatun bint Sultan Muḥammad died in Baghdad in Rabi' I 542/1147 (Muntazam, 128).

Ibn Khallikān gives the exact date of her death as 22 Rabi' II 542/September 1147 (Wafayāt, III, pt. 1, 239).

560. Sharaf al-Dīn b. Abī 'Asrūn was a Shāfi'ite doctor. He was born in 492/1099 and died in 585/1182 (Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 32-6). Cf. also Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 294.

561. The name Atabeg Ghāzī refers to Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī b. Zangī.

562. This marriage had been arranged after Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī had attacked Mārdīn (cf. n. 528).

563. Ms. A: **وكان الوالى الشيخ عز الشيوخ**

The use of the word wālī presents problems here.

A bride is accompanied by a close male relative (**ولى**). In certain madhhabs, the governor (**والى**) would deputise at a marriage, if the bride had no close male relative (**ولى**). (This information was kindly provided by Dr. 'Abd al-Raḥīm 'Alī).

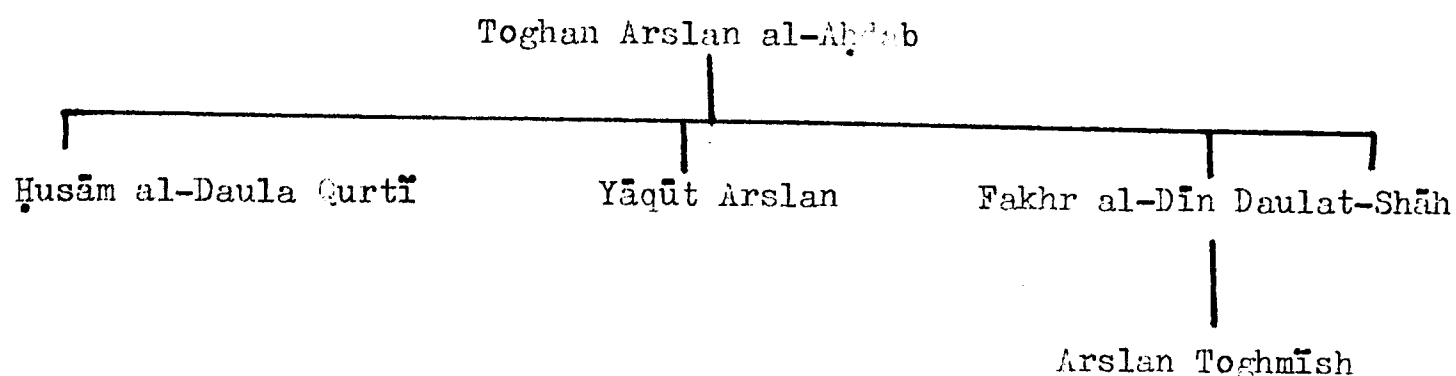
Probably the concept **ولى** is intended here and the word **والى** is a scribal error.

564. Again the word used is **والى**.

565. Ḥusām al-Daula Qurtī and his family are discussed by Minorsky (V. Minorsky, Studies in Caucasian History [London, 1953], 85-6).

These amīrs ruled Arzan and Bitlis.

Their genealogy is as follows:-



Minorsky misreads Ibn al-Azraq's text here (he follows the transcription of part of the text by Amedroz). Minorsky says that Daulat-Shāh died in 539/1144 (*ibid.*, 90, n. 1). In fact, Ibn al-Azraq relates that Dā'ūd of Ḥiṣn Kaifā died in 539/1144.

566. Ms. A: **اتصل الى** Ms. B: **انتقل الى**

The version of Ms. B has been preferred here, since **انتقل** is usually followed by **الى**, whereas **اتصل** takes **ب**.

567. This may be the same person whose pilgrimage is recorded on p. 52/f. 173b.

568. The dīwān al-ishrāf, as well as holding responsibility for the collection of taxes, also administered waqfs (A. K. S. Lambton, *op. cit.*, 259).

Ibn al-Azraq's post was probably that of supervising waqfs. Yet again, however, problems are caused by the use of imprecise administrative terminology in this period.

Amedroz erroneously refers to Ibn al-Azraq's post as the mutawallī ashraf (H. F. Amedroz, "Three Arabic Mss. on the History of the City of Mayyāfāriqīn", *JRAS* [1902], 737). Ashraf is the plural of sharīf.

569. Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī was probably at Naṣībīn during his campaign into Diyār Bakr in 544/1149-50 (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 90-1).

570. Ṣamsām al-Dīn Bahrām was the brother of Zumurrud Khatun and the son of Temür-Tash.
571. When Zumurrud Khatun arrived in Mosul, her husband was already seriously ill, suffering from colic (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 92; Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 306). Their marriage was not consummated (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 91).
572. Zumurrud Khatun stayed in the house of the daughter of Sukmān al-Qutbī of Akhlāt. She had married Zangī after both he and Ḥusām al-Daula Qurtī from Arzan had asked for her hand (Usāma, Memoirs, 118-9; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, 254).
573. Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī died at the end of Jumādā II, 544/November 1149 (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 92). According to Ibn al-Athīr, the best doctor of the time was summoned but to no avail (ibid.).
574. Ms. A: Mamdūd. This has been corrected to Maudūd.
575. Qutb al-Dīn Maudūd, another of Zangī's sons, was put in power at Mosul by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, the vizier, and by Zain al-Dīn ‘Alī, the commander of the ‘askar. They saw his malleability would be in their own interests (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 94; Kāmil, XI, 91-2).
576. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī was buried in a madrasa which he himself had founded at Mosul (Atabegs, 92).
577. This is the resumption of the story begun on p. 322 /f. 173a.
578. For a discussion of this passage, cf. Chapter II, p. 43 .
579. The tarḥa was a kind of hood worn by the chief qādīs of the Shāfi‘ite sect (Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt, II, 649 -- n. 1 by de Slane quoting M. de Sacy in his Chrestomathie, II, 269).
580. Ms. A: **بعد انقضاء مدة الوفاة**

This period is normally called the 'idda. It is a prescribed period of four months, ten days in which widows cannot contract a new marriage (cf. "'idda", EI¹).

581. Dārā was constantly changing hands. Zangī had taken it, and when he died, Temūr-Tash took it back. Thereafter Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī captured it in 544/1149-50 (Atabegs, 90; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 275). No doubt the capture of Dārā by Temūr-Tash recorded here was the immediate result of the news of Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī's death.

582. From around 539-42/1144-7, King Alphonso VII of Castile made raids into Andalusia, pillaging the country as far as Almeria (Julien, op. cit., 91).

583. Ms. B simply says that the Bedouin attacked the pilgrimage.

584. Ms. A: ملك حسام الدين باولاده جميع امراء ديار بكر وديار
ربيعه وارمنية واتصاله بهم

The underlined phrase is rather strange. Perhaps it should read

اتصل بهم

585. This is a fine piece of pro-Artuqid propaganda. Temūr-Tash had in fact already proved powerless to resist the onslaught of Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī in 544/1149-50. No doubt Ibn al-Azraq deliberately suppressed the circumstances of this affray. There was a certain falling off of interest on the part of both Nūr al-Dīn and Quṭb al-Dīn, his brother, from Diyār Bakr. Thus it would be true to say that of the petty rulers of that area, Temūr-Tash was the master for a brief time -- some three years -- until his death in 547/1152-3. Qara Arslan of Ḥiṣn Kaifā was the faithful ally of Nūr al-Dīn and answered his appeals for help (Atabegs, 96).

586. This event is mentioned without comment by Ibn al-Azraq on two occasions. Mu'īn al-Dīn Unur was the de facto ruler of Damascus, rather than the Būrid family behind whom he wielded his power. He died on 23 Rabi' II 544/30 August 1149 (Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 306).
587. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Nūr al-Dīn was defeated by the Franks, not the other way round. Joscelin captured some weapons from Nūr al-Dīn's silāhdār and sent them to Sultan Mas'ūd b. Qilīch Arslan in Konya, who was the father-in-law of Nūr al-Dīn. Joscelin sent a message too, telling Mas'ūd that he would soon be receiving other weapons too. Nūr al-Dīn was extremely angered by this insult (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 101-2).
588. Joscelin of Edessa owned a number of citadels such as Tall Bāshir, al-Bīra, Mar'ash and Ḥiṣn Mansūr (Cahen, Syrie, 385). He was captured by a group of Turcomans. Majd al-Dīn b. al-Dāya negotiated with them and Joscelin was brought into Aleppo in Muḥarram 545/May 1150 (Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 301-2). For other accounts of Joscelin's capture, cf. Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 310; Bar Hebraeus, Chronography, 276.
589. Nūr al-Dīn attacked Joscelin's territory and took a number of citadels. The sources vary on the exact identity of these acquisitions. Ibn al-Qalānisī mentions Tall Bāshir and Tall Khālīd (Dhail, 310 and 315). Ibn al-Athīr also lists these two citadels, as well as others (Atabegs, 102-3).
590. Sumaisāt was an important strategic point, between the Kiakhta Su and the Khalburji Su (Canard, H'amdānides, 265).
591. According to Ibn Shaddād, Temūr-Tash kept al-Bīra until Nūr al-Dīn took it from him and gave it as an iqṭā' to Shihāb

- al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ayaz b. ʾĪl-Ghāzī, who held it until he died in 577/1181-2 (Jazīra, f. 36b).
592. Cf. Ms. A, f. 178a.
593. Qara Arslan had begun the attacks on Joscelin's territory. He took Bābālu and invaded the area around Gargar as early as 543/1148-9 (Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 290).
594. Bābālu is listed by Ibn Shaddād (Jazīra, f. 65b). Michael the Syrian says the fortress was on the bank of the Euphrates (Chronique, 290). Cahen places it opposite Charmūk, between Gargar and Khanzīt ("Diyār Bakr", 226).
595. Gargar was called Karkaron by the Byzantines. It was situated on the Euphrates (cf. Honigmann, Ostgrenze, 116, 1333; Markwart, Südarmenien, 255; Canard, H'andaniides, 264; Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit., 87).
596. Ms. A: Kaisūm. This must be a mistaken reference to Kaisūn, which Cahen describes as a prosperous little town between Qal'at al-Rūm and the Aq-Su. The citadel of Kaisūn which was originally of *mud*. brick was partially re-built of stone by Baldwin of Mar'ash (Cahen, Syrie, 120).
597. Mas'ūd sent his son Qilīch Arslan to attack Mar'ash (Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 290). There is no mention, however, of Kaisūn. Ibn al-Athīr says that it was Nūr al-Dīn who took Mar'ash (Atabegs, 103).
598. Cahen implies that Ibn al-Azraq says that Temūr-Tash actually occupied Qal'at al-Rūm ("Diyār Bakr", 254, n. 1). He must have misread the text.
599. This is a repetition of p. 329/f. 175a.

600. Ms. A: **طهر السعيد حسام الدين اولاد الامير جمال الدين**

The word **طهر** could also be read **ظهر** but **ظهر** makes little sense here. The sons of Jamāl al-Dīn were Temūr-Tash's grandsons. The verb **طهر** ("to circumcise") is the colloquial word. The classical usage would be **نحتن**.

601. The manshūr was the patent of appointment, sent by the caliph, which assigned to a new amīr all the territories which his father had held or which he himself might have acquired. The manshūr was read out before a large gathering and the ceremony ended with the donning by the amīr of a khil'a (a robe of honour) sent by the caliph (R. Levy, The Social Structure of Islam [Cambridge, 1971], 372).

Since Temūr-Tash had ruled Mārdīn for thirty years by this date, it is probable that the arrival of this edict from Baghdad finally recognising his authority in Diyār Bakr represents the apogee of his power, the brief moment when, unfettered by submission to the Zangids from Mosul, he enjoyed a small degree of independence.

602. The space between two rows of pillars in a mosque was called riwāq (plural arwiqa or riwāqāt) (cf. J. Pedersen, "Masjdīd", EI¹).

603. Ibn Shaddād adds here:-

"The rest of it (the mosque) was pulled down. Then he (Temūr-Tash) ordered that it should be re-built" (Jazīra, f. 104b).

604. Qutb al-Dīn al-'Abbādī had come to Baghdad in 541/1146-7 on a mission from Sultan Sanjar to the caliph, and people flocked to hear his sermons. He died in 546/1151-2 whilst in Khūzistān as an envoy from the caliph to Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd (Amedroz, "Three Arabic MSS.", 790, n. 1, citing Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 78 and 103).

605. The appointment of Ibn Hubaira to the caliphal vizierate after Ibn Ṣadaqa is confirmed by Ibn Ṭiḡṭaḡā (al-Fakhrī, 534-5). Ibn al-Athīr also gives the date as 544/1149-50 (Kāmil, XI, 96). Ibn Hubaira was one of the principal architects of the reassertion of caliphal authority after the death of Sultan Mas'ūd. In 549/1154-5 al-Muḡtafī, in recognition of his vizier's services, accorded him the titles Sultān al-'Irāq and malik al-juyūsh (Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam, X, 157). Cf. also Bundārī, Zubdat, 234-5.
606. The dīwān al-zimām wa'l-istifā' was the Treasury department (Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı devleti, 45). In Saljuq Iran it was also called the dīwān-i istifā'-yi mamālik (Lambton, op. cit., 257). For an analysis of the functions of this department under the Great Saljuqs, cf. Horst, Staatsverwaltung, 36-8.
- Ibn Hubaira had been given charge of the dīwān al-zimām in 542/1147-8 (Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 81).
607. This may be a reference to Mujāhid al-Dīn Buzān, a Kurdish amīr, who is mentioned frequently by Ibn al-Qalānisi. In 542/1147-8 he was entrusted with the fortress of Ṣarkhad (Dhail, 292).
608. According to Bundārī, Mas'ūd spent the winter of 545/1150-1 in Baghdad. Thereafter he never returned there again (Zubdat, 226).
609. This reference to the animals in Mas'ūd's retinue may have been mentioned by Ibn al-Azraq because of its curiosity value. Perhaps Mas'ūd paraded such animals to excite awe and admiration amongst the populace. Certainly, even as late as Timur's time, the presence of elephants in his attack on Aleppo provoked panic amongst the inhabitants of that city.

The possession of elephants was a jealously guarded royal prerogative (C. E. Bosworth, The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran. 994:1040 [Edinburgh, 1963], 115-7).

610. Ibn Khallikān has exactly the same date as Ibn al-Azraq for the death of Mas'ūd (Wafayāt, III, pt. 1, 363).

For other accounts of Mas'ūd's death, cf. Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 105; idem, Kāmil, XI, 105; Rawandī, Rāhat, 205; Bundārī, Zubdat, 226-7; Ibn al-Jauzī, Muntazam, X, 151; Mustaufī, Guzīda, 357.

The Tārīkh-i Guzīda states that Mas'ūd was buried in a madrasa in Hamadhān, having died on 1 Rajab (ibid.). Ibn Khallikān says he was buried in a madrasa built by Jamāl al-Dīn Iqbāl al-Khādim (Wafayāt, III, pt. 1, 364).

611. Ibn al-Azraq is unusually precise about his dates here. If they are correct, the implication is that the news of Sultan Mas'ūd's death took three weeks to reach Baghdad. Perhaps the event had been deliberately kept hidden, as was often the case.
612. Al-Muqtafī chose Mas'ūd's death as the most appropriate moment to manifest firm signs of his desire for independence, although there had been inklings right from the outset of his caliphate that he did not fit Sultan Mas'ūd's blueprint of a puppet caliph (cf. p.²⁹³, f. 165b).

Ibn al-Athīr relates a significant anecdote about al-Muqtafī immediately after his accession. The new caliph gave a particularly clever and subtle reply to a question asked him by the sultan's vizier who wanted to know what his household requirements would be. The vizier returned to the sultan and said: "It would have been prudent to stay clear of this man.... I have seen

in him indications of great intellect, an ability to achieve his aims and a high degree of knowledge" (Atabegs, 54).

613. This man is normally called Mas'ūd al-Bilālī. After his departure from Baghdad to Takrīt, the caliph set about ransacking the houses of Saljuq officials in the city (Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 106).
614. Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī stresses the tyranny of Mas'ūd al-Bilālī during his period as shihna of Baghdad. He had been appointed in 541/1146-7 and thereafter the populace suffered (Mir'āt, 186).
615. The 'askar were the standing army of the ruler. The jund came from a second line of troops who were called up to fight on more important occasions (H. A. R. Gibb, A Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades [London, 1932], 34-6).
616. Cf. n. 79. Ms. B adds mukūs to this list (f. 117b). For a definition of this term, cf. R. Le Tourneau, Damas de 1075 à 1154 (Damascus, 1952), 14, n. 1.
617. Ms. A: **واشتغل ارتفاع العراق جميعه**
Horst defines irtifā'āt as directly-raised taxes (Staatsverwaltung, 187).

This may well be a reference to Ibn Hubaira's fiscal policy of making lands once again directly taxable (Bosworth, "Iranian World", 168).

Ms. B specifically states that al-Muqtafī took al-Ḥilla and Wāṣit (f. 118a).

618. Bundārī confirms that Malik-Shāh was with his uncle at the time of the latter's death but it is not clear if Mas'ūd had actually appointed Malik-Shāh his heir (Zubdat, 227).

619. Ms. A: **خاصیک بن البنگری**

This name is given in the Cambridge History of Iran, V as Khāṣṣ Beg Arslan b. Palang-Eri. Since Boyle's system has been the one adopted for the transliteration of the names in this thesis, for the sake of consistency this name above has also been adopted. The transliteration Palang-Eri does, however, seem unsatisfactory.

Khāṣṣ Beg had emerged as an increasingly powerful figure in the last few years of Mas'ūd's reign (Bundārī, Zubdat, 198). Khāṣṣ Beg's growing influence prompted Sanjar to go to Rayy in Sha'ban 544/December 1149-January 1150 to try to check the situation (ibid., 224).

620. Cf. Mustaufī, Guzīda, 357; Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 105.

After a very short time, Khāṣṣ Beg deposed Malik-Shāh and imprisoned him (ibid.). Ibn al-Athīr then writes that Khāṣṣ Beg wrote to Muḥammad-Shāh who was in Khūzistān, inviting him to come and take over the sultanate. His aim was to arrest him too and thus rid himself of Saljuq contenders who stood in his way (Atabegs, 105).

621. Malik-Shāh escaped from prison and withdrew to Khūzistān (Mustaufī, Guzīda, 357).

622. Muḥammad accepted Khāṣṣ Beg's invitation to come to Hamadhān but he soon killed Khāṣṣ Beg and took complete control himself. This occurred in 548/1153-4 (Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 105).

623. Ibn al-Azraq's obituary notice of Sultan Mas'ūd is borrowed almost verbatim by Ibn Khallikān (cf. Chapter II, p.40).

624. This description of Mas'ūd's "generosity" to his associates is hollow panegyric, especially in view of the details which follow. Ibn al-Athīr is only too well aware of the strength of Mas'ūd and stresses that with his death, the power of the Saljuq family was irrevocably damaged (Kāmil, XI, 105).

Whilst amīrs such as those listed below managed to acquire autonomy in the outlying provinces of Mas'ūd's empire, Mas'ūd did make positive attempts to bring them to heel.

625. Ms. A: **منگوروس** This must be a reference to Mengü-Bars (cf. n. 265). He was made governor of Fārs in 526/1131-2 by the Saljuq sultan, who made him atābeg to his son (al-Ḥusainī, Akhbār, 101). He rebelled and was eventually imprisoned and put to death by Mas'ūd in 532/1137-8 (Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 39).

626. Qaracha al-Sāqī is wrongly placed in this list. He commanded the right wing of the army of Mas'ūd and Saljuq-Shāh in the battle which these two princes lost against their uncle Sanjar on 8 Rajab 526. Qaracha al-Sāqī was imprisoned and killed by Sanjar (al-Ḥusainī, Akhbār, 101).

627. Here Ibn al-Azraq states explicitly that Mas'ūd killed the two caliphs, regardless of his earlier narrative where he presented a number of reports about their death (cf. pp. 292, 300 / ff. 165b and 167b).

628. Ms. A: **بوزابه** This name is usually known as Boz-Aba.

Boz-Aba, the lieutenant of Mengü-Bars in Khūzistān, took Fārs and Khūzistān after the latter's death. He plotted against Sultan Mas'ūd with the Saljuq princes Muḥammad, Malik-Shāh and

Sulaimān-Shāh, and ‘Abbās, the wālī of Rayy. Boz-Aba was executed by Mas‘ūd in 542/1147-8 (Bosworth, "Iranian World", 126).

629. Ms. A: **عبدالرحمن بن طغتریک**

‘Abd al-Rahmān Toghan-Yürek was killed by Mas‘ūd in 541/1146-7.

He was amīr hājib to Mas‘ūd (Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 76).

630. On p. 330/f. 175a Ibn al-Azraq records that Qara Arslan took Gargar in 546/1151-2.

631. Ms. B adds: "He is now in the dīwān of the lord of Arzan."

632. Ms. B adds: "He remained on the Hau (sic) bridge for a while before going to Tall al-‘Alawiyya. Messages went backwards and forwards between them and he (Temür-Tash) took the harvest that year" (f. 134a).

633. The name of Ibn Nisān, the vizier of Āmid, as well as that of his "master", Maḥmūd b. Īl-aldī, is mentioned in the inscriptions of 550/1155-6 on the Great Mosque at Āmid (van Berchem, Amida, 61). Van Berchem points out that the protocol of one inscription is an indication of the true political situation at Āmid at this time. The name of the vizier is mentioned first. Although he has no title, he takes precedence in the inscription over his nominal master for all the latter's titles (ibid., 62).

634. Ms. A: **فاقاما بقلعة ماردين يعملان بالفاعل**

The precise meaning of this sentence and indeed of this whole anecdote is difficult to grasp.

Presumably, the money which Temür-Tash was re-claiming was not to be found; either an unknown party, such as the vizier Zain al-Dīn, had appropriated it and hidden it away somewhere, or the vizier of Āmid was unwilling to hand it back and sent assassins to kill the vizier who had possibly prompted

Temür-Tash to ask for it in the first place.

Two possible translations of the sentence quoted above present themselves:-

i) The first is based on the supposition that **فَاعِل** means "criminal, guilty party" (cf. Dozy, Supplément, II, 271) and that **عَمِلَ بَ** contains the nuance of "to work secretly or under cover" (Dozy, Supplément, II, 173). The sentence would then be translated as: "They stayed in the citadel for a few days (secretly) looking for the guilty party."

ii) Alternatively, **فَاعِل** can mean "workman", "labourer". The sentence could then be translated: "They spent a few days in the citadel working as (hired) labourers."

635. Two daughters had now pre-deceased Temür-Tash.

636. For some reason Cahen does not accept this date. He writes that Temür-Tash died at the end of 547/1152 or perhaps in 548/1153 ("Diyār Bakr", 254).

The dates given by other sources for the death of Temür-Tash are as follows:-

Ibn al-Qalānisi: 1 Muḥarram, 549/18 March 1154 (Dhail, 329)

Bundārī: 1 Muḥarram, 549/18 March 1154 (Zubdat, 244)

Sibt b. al-Jauzī: 2 Dhu'l-Qa'da 548/19 January 1154 (Mir'āt, 218-9)

Ibn al-Athīr: 548/1153-4 (Atabegs, 106)

637. This incident is also related by Ibn al-Athīr when he gives his obituary of Zangī. Zangī laid siege to Mārdīn because Temür-Tash refused to hand over Abū Bakr (Atabegs, 79-80).

638. Ibn Shaddād says this iqṭā' was Sarja (Jazīra, f. 104b).

639. Cf. n. 95.

640. The information provided in the rest of the translation of Ms. A about the genealogy of the Artuqids has been included in Appendix B, where there is a genealogical table. Any other minor comments on the rest of the text or translation are included below.
641. Ms. A: **القريشة** This should be al-Qarshiyya, which is listed by Ibn Shaddād as a fortress in Diyār Bakr (Jazīra, f. 65b). Cahen does not know precisely where it was situated. He thinks it was near Tanzī ("Diyār Bakr", 223).
642. Shāwar was the famous Egyptian vizier who negotiated with Nūr al-Dīn over the conquest of Egypt (cf. Runciman, op. cit., II, 367-9).
643. Qalb was a fortress in Diyār Bakr (Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f. 65b).
644. The territory of Temür-Tash was divided out as follows: Najm al-Dīn Alpī ruled at Mārdīn, Jamāl al-Dīn at Ḥānī and Ṣamṣām al-Dīn at Dārā (Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 311).

CHAPTER VIII

THE SONS OF İL-GHĀZĪ

The sons of Najm al-Dīn Īl-Ghāzī

I The succession problem

The sources are generally agreed that at the death of Īl-Ghāzī in 516/1122-3, his son Sulaimān inherited Mayyāfāriqīn whilst another son, Temūr-Tash, succeeded him at Mārdīn. Aleppo, which Īl-Ghāzī also ruled at the time of his death, fell to his nephew, Badr al-Daula Sulaimān b. ¹Abd al-Jabbār.

Behind this apparently straightforward division of territories, however, there remain several unresolved issues which deserve further discussion and on which the Tārīkh Mayyāfāriqīn wa Āmid sheds some new light.

According to Ibn al-Azraq, Temūr-Tash b. Īl-Ghāzī stayed behind in Mārdīn with his atābeg whilst Īl-Ghāzī attempted to make the journey to Mayyāfāriqīn with his wife and Sulaimān. ² Temūr-Tash experienced no serious difficulties in assuming control of the Artuqid possession of Mārdīn on the news of his father's death, since he already held the citadel. Besides, it would appear likely that Īl-Ghāzī's hold over that city was firm and that he felt a definite attachment to it. The sources frequently mention that Īl-Ghāzī regularly returned to Mārdīn

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1. Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 208; Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, 89; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 218; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 426.
2. Ms. A, f. 162b; Ms. B, f. 105a.

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for rest or reinforcements¹ and he must have regarded it as his real base. He had held Mārdīn from around 502/1108-9.

The situation at Mayyāfāriqīn was markedly different. Since Ibn Jahīr had wrested Mayyāfāriqīn from its Marwānid overlord in 478/1085-6² the city had been prey to a long succession of rulers, to the detriment of its economic and social welfare. The date of the beginning of Īl-Ghāzī's rule at Mayyāfāriqīn is given by Ibn al-Azraq as 14 Jumādā II 512.³ Ibn al-Athīr, however, writes that Īl-Ghāzī was awarded the city as an iqṭā' by Sultan Mahmūd as late as 515/1121-2.⁴

Whatever the actual date of Īl-Ghāzī's acquisition of Mayyāfāriqīn, and even if Ibn al-Azraq's much earlier date is accepted, Īl-Ghāzī did not have the opportunity to spend enough time in the city to consolidate his position there. An analysis of his activities during the years 512-516/1118-22 reveals that he could not possibly have accorded Mayyāfāriqīn more than a passing interest.⁵

Ibn al-Azraq's history contains a most interesting anecdote in which he describes the subterfuge employed by the widow and

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 389; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 200.
2. 'Awad, 212; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 93-4.
3. Ms. A, f. 161a; Ms. B, f. 101a.
4. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 418. If Ibn al-Athīr's date is to be trusted, the granting of the city of Mayyāfāriqīn to Īl-Ghāzī by the sultan may well have been merely the formal recognition of a de facto situation which had already existed for several years.
5. Cf. Chapter IV, p. 167.

son of ʾĪl-Ghāzī in order to gain access to the citadel of Mayyāfāriqīn.¹ On their arrival by night outside the gate of the city, the dead body of ʾĪl-Ghāzī was put on his horse. The wālī of the city opened the gate and only when the retinue had reached the very centre of the citadel was the death of ʾĪl-Ghāzī made known.

Ruses of this kind, which concealed the death of a sovereign or an important leader, were far from rare in this period and were often the work of women who wanted to secure the succession for their sons or some other favourite.² In this particular instance, ʾĪl-Ghāzī's widow was helped by the fact that she was near Mayyāfāriqīn and that she and Sulaimān could travel there with the body by night. Had ʾĪl-Ghāzī died further from his seat of power, her ruse might well have failed.

The khatun had every reason to doubt that Sulaimān would be warmly welcomed as the new ruler of Mayyāfāriqīn and to be aware of the need to secure the citadel before announcing the death of ʾĪl-Ghāzī. There is no reason to assume that ʾĪl-Ghāzī had behaved towards the inhabitants of Mayyāfāriqīn in a more lenient way than any of that city's earlier overlords. His treatment of the inhabitants of Aleppo and the villages and countryside of Northern Syria shows him to have been a child of his times and casts

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1. Ms. A, f. 162b; Ms. B, f. 105a.
2. A famous incident of this kind involved the widow of Malik-Shāh, Terken Khatun, who concealed the death of her husband in 485/1092-3 (Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 142-5). She did not, however, resort to the same extremes as ʾĪl-Ghāzī's widow.

considerable doubt on the veracity of the eulogistic account¹ of him given by Ibn al-Azraq. It cannot therefore be assumed that the people of Mayyāfāriqīn would automatically have welcomed a son of his as their new ruler.

Quite apart from this consideration, it is not at all certain that ʾĪl-Ghāzī had in fact appointed Sulaimān as his successor in Mayyāfāriqīn. Indeed, Michael the Syrian expressly states that ʾĪl-Ghāzī ordered that his son Temur-Tash should rule after him; but as the latter was not present at the time, ʾĪl-Ghāzī's son Sulaimān, who was with him, accompanied him to Mayyāfāriqīn and when he died en route buried him in that city.² He then ruled there.

Sulaimān's succession at Mayyāfāriqīn may well have been effected in spite of the wishes of his father, whose attitude towards him at this time is unclear. The sources agree that Sulaimān, who had been left in Aleppo by ʾĪl-Ghāzī to manage affairs there, rebelled against his father in 515/1121-2, the year before ʾĪl-Ghāzī died. The precise nature of this revolt is not clear and Ibn al-ʿAdīm, who describes it in great detail,³ gives a very confusing account.

Ibn al-Athīr relates that in 515/1121-2 Sulaimān, egged on by bad advisers, rebelled against his father at Aleppo. ʾĪl-Ghāzī rushed there, seized his son, who was full of excuses, and meted out terrible punishments to his accomplices.⁴ Ibn al-ʿAdīm,

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1. Cf. Chapter IV, p. 168.
2. Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 218.
3. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 200-2.
4. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, 417-8.

on the other hand, gives two accounts of the rebellion. The one relates that Sulaimān was displeased with the demands made on him by his father and rose up against him. During ʾĪl-Ghāzī's absence on his ill-starred campaign into Georgia, Sulaimān expelled various amīrs from Aleppo and imposed his own corrupt, despotic rule on the city.¹ The other account given by Ibn al-ʿAdīm describes how ʾĪl-Ghāzī wrote to his son asking him to stage an apparent "rebellion" in order to free ʾĪl-Ghāzī from the obligation of giving Aleppo to Dubais b. Sadaqa, as he had rashly promised to do while on the Tiflīs campaign. Sulaimān, who was of feckless temperament, actually did rebel. ʾĪl-Ghāzī reached Qalʿat Jaʿbar and there met messengers from Sulaimān imploring his pardon.²

The opportunistic timing of the uprising, the speed with which ʾĪl-Ghāzī suppressed it, and the details of the torture which he inflicted on Sulaimān's confederates, all support the theory that Sulaimān acted of his own accord. On the other hand, Dubais was undoubtedly interested in acquiring Aleppo, as subsequent events proved,³ so there may have been some germ of truth in the Tiflīs story.

Whether Sulaimān's rebellion was genuine or rigged, he was removed by his father from his position at Aleppo and replaced there by ʾĪl-Ghāzī's nephew, Badr al-Daula Sulaimān b. ʿAbd al-Jabbār. According to Ibn al-Athīr, ʾĪl-Ghāzī yielded to his

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1. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 200.
2. Ibid., 200-2.
3. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Bughyat, 228-9.

paternal feelings and spared his son's life. Sulaimān fled soon afterwards to Damascus and took refuge with Togh-Tegin, the father of the khatun. Togh-Tegin interceded on Sulaimān's behalf but to no avail. Ibn al-Furāt also emphasises that 1
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 1̇l-Ghāzī could not forgive Sulaimān.

In his forays against the Franks during the last year of his life, 1̇l-Ghāzī turned increasingly to another nephew, Balak, who was to prove his real successor in Northern Syria until his premature death in 518/1124. 3
 It was to Balak that 1̇l-Ghāzī entrusted his two sons, Sulaimān and Temur-Tash, at his death. 4
 This statement by Matthew of Edessa and the presence of Sulaimān with 1̇l-Ghāzī on his last journey to Mayyāfāriqīn would suggest that some kind of reconciliation had actually taken place between them. Indeed, the fact that 1̇l-Ghāzī was prepared to undertake the journey from Mārdīn to Mayyāfāriqīn at all might be interpreted as a last effort by a dying man to assert his presence in a city of whose loyalty he was unconvinced and thereby to ensure the succession of his son Sulaimān there.

Conversely, the presence of Sulaimān by 1̇l-Ghāzī's side might be construed as the action of a son waiting to profit from his father's impending death and making certain that he was on the spot. This could have been his own idea or that of the khatun, who may well have been the motivating force behind their

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 418.
2. Ibn al-Furāt, I, f. 179b (apud Cahen, "Diyār Bakr", 241).
3. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 219; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 436; al-ʿAzīmī, "Chronique", 394.
4. Matthew of Edessa, Chronique, 307.

entry into Mayyāfāriqīn. Ibn al-‘Adīm describes Sulaimān as feckless and his short-lived rule at Aleppo as despotic.¹ He was very young and easily swayed by the evil counsels of his entourage.

Thus the events which immediately preceded the entry of Sulaimān into Mayyāfāriqīn and his acquisition of its citadel in 516/1122-3 cast an interesting light on the dangerous ruse which he and the khatun practised. They also explain to a certain extent the necessity of such a ploy. It is ironic that, after these elaborate manoeuvres and the eventually successful outcome of the subterfuge, Sulaimān was to enjoy only a short-lived rule in Mayyāfāriqīn.

II Shams al-Daula Sulaimān at Mayyāfāriqīn, 516-518/1122-4

Little is known of the short reign of Sulaimān at Mayyāfāriqīn. The known facts come from Ibn al-Furāt, Michael the Syrian and Ibn al-Azraq. Had Sulaimān lived longer, he would probably have pursued more aggressive policies than his brother, Temur-Tash, at Mārdīn. Indeed, there are signs that Sulaimān had territorial ambitions, not only in the immediate area of Mayyāfāriqīn but probably as far as Malatya.

Sulaimān took Haza from his cousin, Dā’ūd, villages around Mayyāfāriqīn from Qurtī,² the ruler of Arzan, and - more significantly - he seized Khartbait from Balak, either while

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1. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, 200.
2. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 162b; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 211; Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, 220.

Balak was absent on campaign or at his death in Rabī' I 518/May 1124. Sulaimān's marriage to a daughter of Sultan Qilīch Arslan of Malatya, which is recorded by Ibn al-Azraq,¹ may well have been prompted by a desire on the part of Sulaimān to emulate his more successful cousin, Balak, who had also allied himself to the Saljuqs of Rūm and acquired more power thereby.²

The proximity of Sulaimān's brother, Temūr-Tash, who now held the citadel at Mārdīn, did not present problems initially. Ibn al-Qalānisī relates that at first the two brothers remained friendly.³ Relations between them were still harmonious as late as Rajab 518/September 1124 when, according to Ibn al-'Adīm, Temūr-Tash (who had become disastrously enmeshed in Aleppan affairs)⁴ left to go to Diyār Bakr to fetch help from his brother, Sulaimān.

Ibn al-Qalānisī records that later on a quarrel arose between the two brothers "which lasted because of both their faults".⁵ It would have been comparatively easy for harmony between them to be maintained when Temūr-Tash was often away from Mārdīn in the service of Balak⁶ and it is not surprising that dissension really began when Temūr-Tash returned to Diyār Bakr and no doubt interfered in the territorial ambitions of his brother.

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1. Ms. A, f. 162b.
2. Cf. O. Turan, Doğu Anadolu, 147.
3. Ibn al-Qalānisī, Dhail, 208.
4. Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 223.
5. Ibn al-Qalānisī, loc. cit.
6. Cf. p. 485 infra.

Ibn al-Furāt in fact implies that Sulaimān was preparing to
 attack Temur-Tash.¹ Whatever the cause of the rift between the
 two brothers, Temur-Tash² considered it more important to remain
 at Mārdīn than to answer numerous urgent summons for him to
 return to Aleppo.

A month or so after the departure of Temur-Tash³ from Aleppo
 to Mārdīn, Sulaimān died most opportunely in Ramadān 518/October-
 November 1124⁴ at Mayyāfāriqīn. This may not have been a mere
 coincidence. The predictable struggle for hegemony in Diyār Bakr
 between the two brothers was best settled by the death of one of
 them. Any complicity on the part of Temur-Tash⁵ in his brother's
 death must, however, remain a matter for speculation, especially
 since Ibn al-Azraq's testimony favours Temur-Tash⁶ throughout and
 the author would have suppressed any evidence which might reflect
 badly on his former master.

Sulaimān does not emerge from the sources as an especially
 admirable figure. Aside from Ibn al-Azraq's biased evidence,³
 Ibn al-ʿAdīm confirms that Sulaimān was frivolous and a trouble-
 maker.⁴ Temur-Tash⁵ may have lacked the flamboyant vigour of his
 father but he possessed the tenacity and adaptability necessary
 to stay in the area of Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn for thirty years.

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1. Cahen, "Diyār Bakr", 241.
2. Ms. A, f. 163a.
3. Cf. Ibn al-Azraq's description of the depraved son of Sulaimān,
 Maḥmūd, where the author savours with obvious relish the
 details of this "black sheep" of the Artuqid family (Ms. A,
 f. 163a).
4. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 200.

III The sources for the reign of Temur-Tash at Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn

It is not the intention in this chapter to discuss year by year the detailed events in the period of Temur-Tash's reign at Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn. This period has already been treated at some length in the commentary (Chapter VII). It seems appropriate, instead, to attempt to impose some order and, if possible, interpretations on the wealth of detailed incidents mentioned in Ibn al-Azraq and other chronicles.

The major sources for the rule of Temur-Tash at Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn are Ibn al-Azraq's text and the History of the Atabegs of Mosul by Ibn al-Athīr. These two works form an interesting foil to one another; the one is highly biased in favour of Temur-Tash and the other sets out to eulogise the achievements of Zangī and his descendants. Both these works often treat the same historical events but because of the very different slant placed on them by their authors the narratives vary markedly. As well as these two major sources for the history of Diyār Bakr during the thirty years that Temur-Tash ruled, some events of the period are also mentioned by Michael the Syrian, Ibn al-Furāt, al-ʿAzīmī and Ibn al-ʿAdīm. None of these sources have the particular bias of Ibn al-Azraq or of Ibn al-Athīr and they can therefore in some measure be used as a control.

Ibn al-Azraq's testimony on the reign of Temur-Tash is especially valuable for its occasional references to institutions and to the social and economic life of the time. Such references are all too rare and are often only partially explained but they

provide information which is not found elsewhere. Ibn al-Athīr's History of the Atabegs of Mosul, on the other hand, sheds a fascinating light on the relationship between Temur-Tash and Zangī. This work provides detailed information on the figure who dominated most of Temur-Tash's reign and who even on the pages of a tacitly hostile source such as Ibn al-Azraq's history is mentioned almost as often as Temur-Tash himself.

IV The early career of Temur-Tash b. Īl-Ghāzī

Although Īl-Ghāzī had a number of sons, Sulaimān and Temur-Tash are the only two who play a significant role in Ibn al-Azraq's history. The reason for this is simple: Īl-Ghāzī's other sons had all predeceased him.¹ Sulaimān and Temur-Tash were still apparently quite young when their father died in 516/1122-3.² During Īl-Ghāzī's lifetime, Temur-Tash had despite his youth performed two useful tasks for his father. He had been left in Aleppo by Īl-Ghāzī in 511/1117-8 while the latter went back to Mārdīn to collect reinforcements.³ On another occasion, in 515/1111-2, Temur-Tash had been sent by his father to Sultan

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1. Cf. Appendix B for the genealogical table.
2. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Temur-Tash was seventeen in 515/1111-2 (Kāmil, X, 418).
3. Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 199; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 373; Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 180; al-ʿAzīmī, "Chronique", 197.

According to the last two sources, Temur-Tash was left in Aleppo as a hostage.

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Mahmūd to intercede on behalf of Dubais.

On the death of ʾĪl-Ghāzī, Temur-Tash acquired possession of Mārdīn without difficulty. The next two years, 516-518/1122-4, he spent in the service of his energetic cousin, Balak, to whose care his father had entrusted him before he died. Temur-Tash was present at Balak's siege of Manbij in 518/1124. Indeed, Balak was preparing to leave Temur-Tash in charge of the siege at Manbij when he was killed outside the walls of the town. Significantly, at his death Balak bequeathed his estates to Temur-Tash who proceeded to Aleppo and took possession of it in Rabi' I 518/May 1124.

Temur-Tash has received much opprobrium for his short administration at Aleppo. Stevenson calls him "incompetent" whilst Gibb writes that Aleppo had reached the climax of its misfortunes "since it was now reduced to dependence on ʾĪl-Ghāzī's indolent son and successor at Nardin, Timurtash". There is certainly ample evidence for a number of blunders and for a marked lack of judgement on the part of Temur-Tash at this time. His release of Baldwin was based on the perhaps naive assumption that Baldwin would keep his word. Far from doing so, Baldwin refused to comply with the terms of the agreement made with Temur-Tash and even allied with Dubais although he had specifically promised not to do so. After a humiliating defeat

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 418.
2. Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen III, 240.
3. Matthew of Edessa, Chronique, 312.
4. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 220.
5. Stevenson, op. cit., 111.
6. H.A.R. Gibb, "Zengi and the Fall of Edessa", Setton and Baldwin,

outside Aleppo at the hands of Dubais, Temur-Tash withdrew to Mārdīn¹ to try to obtain help from his brother, Sulaimān, and left Aleppo to its fate.

Whilst Temur-Tash's brief attempt at governing Aleppo was far from glorious, his own contribution to the city's decline may well have been exaggerated. Aleppo was notoriously difficult to rule and a boy of eighteen was scarcely the ideal person to be in charge of it. His preferred modus operandi in his later life was negotiation rather than ruse or the use of military strength, but at Aleppo in 518/1124 he lacked the experience and advisers to deal with such seasoned practitioners of the political art as Baldwin.

Aleppo at this particular juncture was coveted by several powerful amīrs or groups - Dubais, who might justifiably have expected to receive the city as a reward for his loyalty to the Artuqids; the dispossessed Badr al-Daula, still smarting from the humiliation of being dismissed from his governorship of the city by Balak; and, as always, the Franks. The various conflicting interests of these factions exerted a continuous pressure on Temur-Tash, who must soon have felt out of his depth in Aleppo.

Once he had arrived back at Mārdīn, Temur-Tash embarked on policies which furthered his own modest territorial ambitions in that area and he seems deliberately to have turned his back on Aleppo. This attitude on the part of Temur-Tash is severely

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1. Ibn al-ʿAdīm, Zubda, 220-3.

condemned by Ibn al-‘Adīm, who as the town-chronicler of Aleppo naturally sees Temur-Tash's actions in an adverse light and condemns his preoccupation with the affairs of Diyār Bakr to the exclusion of Aleppo.¹ When messengers arrived from Aleppo to Mārdīn in 518/1124, Temur-Tash temporised with them, absorbed as he was with the death of his brother Sulaimān and his own acquisition of the town of Mayyāfāriqīn. He even went so far as to imprison the Aleppan envoys, who escaped and sought help for their city from another source, Aq-Sonqur al-Bursuqī from Mosul.²

The involvement of Temur-Tash in the affairs of Aleppo was a singular failure. With a crass political blunder and a military defeat behind him, he retreated into the area of Mārdīn which his father, Īl-Ghāzī, had always regarded as his home base.

Thus ended the unsatisfactory bolstering of Aleppo by the Turcoman forces of Diyār Bakr, a process which had begun in 511/1117-8. Thereafter Temur-Tash rarely occupied himself with political affairs outside the immediate area of Diyār Bakr. He owed his tenure of Aleppo, in any case, to the bequest of Balak rather than to his own efforts to expand his territory. In this

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1. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Zubda, 225.
2. Ibn al-‘Adīm, Bughyat, 204-7.

Ibn al-Azraq's own reticence on this whole incident may well spring from ignorance. More probably, it is the result of a desire on his part to suppress evidence which is unfavourable to the Artuqid dynasty. Cf. Ms. A, f. 163a.

respect, he is to be contrasted with his father, whose ambition extended well beyond Aleppo. It may be concluded that Temur-Tash["] was temperamentally unsuited for the life of virtually ceaseless campaigning which the older generation of his family had led.

Viewed from the vantage-point of medieval Islamic history as a whole, this decision to withdraw to Diyār Bakr marks the end of the uncoordinated but grandiose Artuqid territorial ambitions which had prompted Īl-Ghāzī and his father Artuq before him to cover vast stretches of the Islamic world. As far as the livelihood of the Artuqid family was concerned, however, Temur-Tash's decision to retreat to the remote, difficult terrain of Diyār Bakr could be judged as realistic and astute.

On the death of his brother, Sulaimān, Temur-Tash took possession of Mayyāfāriqīn¹ and ruled the two cities jointly for thirty years.

V The reign of Temur-Tash["] until the death of Zangī in 541/1146

Whilst Temur-Tash["] ruled at Mārdīn from 516/1122 and at Mayyāfāriqīn from 518/1124-5, his cousin Dā'ūd had governed Ḥiṣn Kaifā since around 502/1108-9. Dā'ūd had been prepared to accept the overall leadership of Īl-Ghāzī and had furnished him with troops on occasion. He was not, however, likely to allow Temur-Tash["] to dominate him in similar fashion. It is true that Temur-Tash["] succeeded in seizing Mayyāfāriqīn before Dā'ūd² but

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 162b.

this was one of the few occasions when he independently outwitted his more bellicose and enterprising cousin.

Ibn al-Azraq never explicitly states that Dā'ūd had the upper hand in his relationship with Temur-Tash but stresses in unusually emotive terms the savagery with which Dā'ūd pillaged and plundered. Ibn al-Athīr, on the other hand, who has no reason to take sides between the two Artuqids, clearly implies that it was Dā'ūd, not Temur-Tash, who presented the real threat to Zangī's aspirations in Diyār Bakr and that Dā'ūd had inherited that much-prized ability to inspire devotion in the Turcomans which ʾĪl-Ghāzī had possessed before him. According to Ibn al-Athīr, Zangī would have been kept busy if his only adversary had been Dā'ūd, who enjoyed such prestige with the Turcomans that all those capable of carrying arms would join him. Ibn al-Athīr admires Dā'ūd's resilience and his ability to return to fight only a few days after a crushing defeat.¹

In the early years of Temur-Tash's reign, Dā'ūd seized the territories formerly held by Balak, such as Khartabirt, and even participated with the ruler of Akhlāt in a campaign against the Georgians.² Any further ambitions Dā'ūd may have had were soon, however, laid aside in the face of the threat of Zangī who was made governor of Mosul in 520/1126. The incipient rivalry between Dā'ūd and his cousin Temur-Tash was forgotten at the prospect of a common foe who was preparing to invade their territories.³

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1. Atabegs, 81.
2. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 163b.
3. Matthew of Edessa, Chronique, 146.

Once Zangī had established himself at Mosul, his first act of aggression was to lay siege that same year (520/1126) to Nasībīn, which belonged to Temur-Tash. Temur-Tash appealed to Dā'ūd for help against Zangī and this was promised him. After a well-known incident involving Zangī's interception of a pigeon carrying a message from Temur-Tash to the governor of Nasībīn, Zangī tricked the garrison of the town into surrendering it to him.¹

This initial act by Zangī united the Artuqids and together they came to an agreement in 524/1130 with Īlaldī, the ruler of Āmid, and other Turcoman chiefs to defend their territories against Zangī. In spite of their large numbers, the combined Artuqid forces were defeated by Zangī who took Dārā and Sarja.²

After this defeat at the hands of Zangī, the uneasy alliance between the two Artuqid cousins was at an end. There are signs that each of them reverted to their own natural mode of government; Temur-Tash consolidated his hold on the two cities under his command, whilst Dā'ūd energetically raised his sights to new conquests. The year after the defeat at Sarja, Dā'ūd seized several citadels south of Lake Van.³

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 36-7.
2. Ibid., 38-9; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 240; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 467.
3. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, ff. 164a-b. These citadels included Qatalbas and Bātāsā, as well as the important town of Is'ird.

It would appear that Temur-Tash was worried by the implications of Dā'ūd's actions and that he sought a new protector. It is not clear whether he first approached Zangī or whether Zangī suggested an alliance with him. Even if their future collaboration was at Temur-Tash's instigation, Zangī dominated the relationship from the outset and knew how to exploit the rivalry between the two Artuqid cousins to his own advantage. Zangī and Temur-Tash clashed with Dā'ūd outside Āmid in 528/1134 and Dā'ūd was defeated. Zangī then went on to take the citadel of al-Sūr which he handed over to Temur-Tash.¹ Although Ibn al-Azraq is silent at this point, al-Azīmī clearly states that Temur-Tash had become Zangī's vassal.²

Zangī's gift of this citadel and other relatively unimportant possessions to Temur-Tash was a clever move on his part since he thereby weakened both Dā'ūd and Temur-Tash. Temur-Tash, well-pleased for a brief moment with his new possessions but not dangerously strengthened by them, could not enjoy for long the security afforded him by his new-found protector who spent only short periods in Diyār Bakr. Once Zangī had gone away, Dā'ūd, enraged by his loss of territories and Temur-Tash's agreement with Zangī, terrified Temur-Tash to such an extent that in 530/1135-6 he even demolished the rabād and another suburb of his own city of Mayyāfāriqīn, presumably because he felt unable

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 168a; Ibn al-Qalānisi, Dhail, 243; Ibn al-'Adīm, Zubda, 253; Ibn Shaddād, Jazīra, f. 133b; Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, XI, 6-7; Usāma, Memoirs, 185-6.
2. Al-'Azīmī, "Chronique", 408.

to defend them against the depredations of his cousin.¹ By setting the two Artuqids against one another, Zangī cleverly kept them occupied in Diyār Bakr and successfully diverted Dā'ūd's energies away from Zangī's own sphere of influence.

Temur-Tash had now tried to join forces with both Zangī and Dā'ūd. In neither case had the alliance brought him significant advantages. In spite of the coalition with Dā'ūd, Temur-Tash had lost Naṣībīn and when he had subsequently thrown in his lot with Zangī, this had resulted in an exacerbation of the hostility between himself and Dā'ūd. From 530/1135-6 onwards, Temur-Tash was formally attached to neither of his two rivals. For a decade he played a pragmatic but dangerous game of shifting alliances and no doubt careful diplomacy. The sources are silent on the exact details of his policies towards Dā'ūd and Zangī but the results of his unobtrusive stance were successful. By the end of 541/1146-7, both Dā'ūd and Zangī were dead. Temur-Tash was still alive and still had possession of the two cities of Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn. His waiting game had proved worth while.

Before Zangī's death in 541/1146, their relationship had seriously deteriorated. One event which sparked off a quarrel between them occurred in 533/1138-9 when the governor of Naṣībīn, Abū Bakr, fled to Temur-Tash for protection from Zangī. Zangī,² whose brutality and iron discipline were legendary, asked for Abū Bakr to be handed over to him.³ When Temur-Tash refused,

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 168a.
2. E.g. Bundārī, Zubdat, 205.
3. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 176b.

Zangī came to Mārdīn. Temur-Tash extricated himself from this dangerous situation by conceding Dārā to Zangī, as well as giving his daughter in marriage;¹ but - if Ibn al-Azraq is to be believed - he did not yield up Abū Bakr.

The agreement reached in 536/1141-2 between Dā'ūd and Temur-Tash probably prompted Zangī's demand to Temur-Tash to send his chief official, Ḥabashī, to him.² Zangī's motives remain unknown but the incident ended with the assassination of Ḥabashī at Zangī's camp.

Temur-Tash could not fail to be worried by the sudden expansion of Zangī's lands immediately after the death of Dā'ūd in 539/1144-5 when Zangī seized nearly all Dā'ūd's territories.³ Ibn al-Azraq comments at this point that Temur-Tash and Zangī quarrelled but he gives no details.⁴ Even before Dā'ūd's death, there are signs that Temur-Tash sought an alliance with Dā'ūd and Joscelin, the Frankish ruler of Edessa,⁵ since Zangī was approaching the height of his power and was not prepared to brook resistance from his former vassal. In 540/1145-6 Zangī came as far as Tall al-Shaikh and threatened the town of Mayyāfāriqīn⁶ before withdrawing. Presumably this was a demonstration of strength on his part, intended to intimidate Temur-Tash. It was

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 169a; al-'Azīmī, "Chronique", 417; Ibn al-Adīm, Zubda, 271.
2. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 170a.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Anonymous Syriac Chronicle, 280.
6. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 171a.

exceedingly fortunate for the latter that very soon afterwards, in 541/1146, Zangī himself was assassinated at Qal'at Ja'bar.

With the removal in the space of two years of his two main rivals who had constantly harassed and restricted him, Temur-Tash suddenly found himself free to act in a more independent way than hitherto, especially since he himself had now been in power for a long period.

It is clear that by the end of Zangī's career a degree of personal animosity had crept into his relationship with Temur-Tash. Indeed, relations between them resembled those between a lion and a mouse. Ibn al-Athīr sheds very interesting light on this. Several farmers had left Mosul to go to Mārdīn. Zangī was annoyed by this and asked Temur-Tash to send them back. Temur-Tash refused, saying that he treated farmers well, taking only one-tenth of their crops, and that if Zangī had done likewise, the farmers would not have left his territory. Zangī's reply to this gesture of defiance was characteristically chilling:-

"Tell your master that if he took (only) a one-hundredth share, that would be a large amount for him, occupied as he is

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1. Even a favourable source such as Ibn al-Athīr abounds in such anecdotes which testify to Zangi's cruelty and ability to inspire terror. Bundārī goes even further in his description of Zangī, calling him a "tyrant, striking at random, and a raging blast of calamities, tigerish in nature, lion-like in malevolence ... feared for his violence ... the death of his enemies and of his subjects" (Gibb, "Zengi", 457, n. 10, quoting Bundārī, Zubdat, 205).

with his pleasures in the citadel at Mārdīn If it had not been for me, he would long since have ceased to drink water safely at Mārdīn and the Franks would have taken it" (the city).¹

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Temur-Tash sent back the farmers.

VI Temūr-Tash at the height of his power, 541-8/1146-53

According to Ibn al-Azraq, Temur-Tash reacted with joyful alacrity to the news of Zangī's death. He left his garden immediately and seized a number of neighbouring territories, such as Hānī and Sīwān.² Such speed was imperative if the citadels were to be captured before Zangī's successor at Mosul, his son Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī, could establish himself and feel strong enough to come to claim his father's old possessions.

Dā'ūd's son Qara Arslan, who had succeeded his father at Hishn Kaifa, had already been decisively defeated the year before Zangī's death by Temur-Tash's troops³ and although Qara Arslan's fortunes also rose with the removal of Zangī and accession of Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī,⁴ it is clear that Qara Arslan soon recognised

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1. Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 79.

2. Ms. A, f. 172b.

3. Ibid., f. 171a.

4. Qara Arslan acquired all the fortresses which Zangī had taken from his father Dā'ūd (Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 172b).

Cf. also Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 268.

the overall suzerainty of Temur-Tash.¹

Temur-Tash received a temporary setback in 543/1148-9 when he endured a humiliating defeat at the hands of Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī² who came as far as Mārdīn to regain Zangī's territories. This son of Zangī was not, however, destined to bother Temur-Tash for long since Saif al-Dīn died the following year (544/1149) at Mosul.³

The remaining few years of Temur-Tash's reign were a period of genuine, if modest, power in the immediate area of Diyār Bakr. He obtained a recognition of his own suzerainty from the lord of Āmid⁴ and acquired new territories, such as Sumaisāt in 544/1149-50⁵ when the ruler of Edessa, Joscelin, was taken prisoner by Nūr al-Dīn.

All the evidence points to Temur-Tash's enjoyment of considerable local power before his death and to his being recognised as the most powerful ruler in Diyār Bakr. His brief but disastrous interlude at Aleppo when he was still a young man

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1. This is the interpretation which may be placed on Temur-Tash's action in taking Is'ird and then handing it back to Qara Arslan a little later (Ibn al-Azraq, Ms.A, f. 173a).
2. Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 91; Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 172b; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 275.
3. Ibn al-Athīr, Atabegs, 92.
4. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 176a.
5. Ibid., f. 175a; Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 297.

was his only real taste of power outside Diyār Bakr. An analysis of his whole policy testifies to a definite decision on his part to restrict his aspirations to the maintenance of his two cities of Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn and to the acquisition of whatever territories he could retain within a modest distance of his base at Mārdīn. A negative appraisal of his rule could pinpoint a lack of energy and ambition or even - as Ibn al-Athīr suggests¹ - a life given over to pleasurable pursuits. More positively, however, his policies could be viewed as realistic and realisable.

In view of the evidence presented in the above discussion and the personality of Temur-Tash himself, who generally appears to have preferred negotiation to acts of sudden aggression, it is difficult to understand how the extraordinary but surely apocryphal story of Temur-Tash["] at Jerusalem continues to be treated seriously by Western historians of the Crusades.

According to this anecdote, which comes from William of Tyre, and only from him, Temur-Tash["] made a sudden attack on Jerusalem with his bands of Turcomans, prompted by a desire to regain the lands once owned by his grandfather, Artuq. This story is treated seriously by Weil,² Rohricht³ and Stevenson⁴ and is allowed to remain unchallenged even by as recent a historian as Runciman.⁵

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1. Atabegs, 79.
2. Weil, op. cit., 296.
3. Rohricht, op. cit., 271.
4. Stevenson, op. cit., 171.
5. Runciman, op. cit., II, 337.

According to Stevenson,¹ this anecdote from William of Tyre calls the invader of Jerusalem "Hiaroquin". The identification of this name with Temur-Tash² is Wilken's. Whether or not such an identification is linguistically feasible, it is entirely out of character that Temur-Tash³ should make this sudden, hare-brained and arduous foray towards Jerusalem. It is unwise, in any case, to treat as sacrosanct a narrative which appears only in this one source. If such a raid did indeed take place, then, directed as it was against Jerusalem - a prime bone of contention between Muslim and Frank in the twelfth century - it would surely have found some echo in Muslim and other Western sources.⁴ Temur-Tash's only audacious "coup" for which more than one account exists is an isolated reference to his capture of a caravan at Edessa in 533/1138-9. Whilst this incident, and his capture of a modest share of Joscelin's possessions - in which other neighbouring rulers also participated - testify to certain territorial ambitions they pale into insignificance beside a raid on Jerusalem itself.

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1. Op. cit., 171, n. 2.
2. F. Wilken, Geschichte der Kreuzzüge (Leipzig, 1807-32), iv, 17.
3. Rohricht draws attention to this fact but does not in so doing cast doubts on the veracity of the anecdote (op. cit., 271, n. 2).
4. Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 246; Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 169a, Anon. Syr. Chron., 278.

VII The administration of Temur-Tash.

Ibn al-Azraq, and to a much lesser extent Ibn al-Athīr, make isolated references to aspects of social and economic life in the reign of Temur-Tash. It would, however, be foolhardy to make anything other than very tentative statements on the basis of such remarks as are found in the sources. Such wider issues as the inter-relationship between towns and the nomadic groups present in the area of Diyār Bakr, as well as the treatment of the Christians who probably outnumbered the Muslims in Temur-Tash's reign, must remain almost entirely undiscussed through lack of information.

Certain concrete facts about Temur-Tash's domestic policy emerge from Ibn al-Azraq's history. He removed the remaining local resistance to him with his capture in 531/1136-7 of Hattākh, the last remaining Marwānid possession in Diyār Bakr.¹ Individual members of the Marwānid family were, however, subsequently employed by Temur-Tash.²

There is evidence of an interest in civil as well as military building, which testifies to Temur-Tash's desire to put down roots in the area of Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn. For Mārdīn, Ibn al-Azraq mentions the construction of a family tomb for the Artuqid family where the bodies of ʿĪl-Ghāzī and Sulaimān

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1. Michael the Syrian, Chronique, 264; Sibṭ b. al-Jauzī, Mirʾāt, 161; Ibn al-Furāt, Duwal, f. 93b.
2. ʿAwad, 254.

were eventually housed.¹ The mosque at Mayyāfāriqīn was rebuilt after its dome collapsed in 547/1152-3.² The most ambitious building project, however, was clearly the construction of the Qaramān bridge which was begun in 541/1146-7, completed in 548/1153-4 and³ was clearly a most impressive edifice.

It is impossible to determine the exact religious allegiance of Temur-Tash, although his warm reception of the Ismā'īlī shaikh is described in great detail by Ibn al-Azraq. Perhaps the elaborate deference which he accorded this shaikh testifies to the latter's personal magnetism rather than to any deep-rooted religious inclination towards the Ismā'īlī creed. This shaikh eventually lost his hold over Temur-Tash and left him.⁴

The evidence on commercial matters is also very slight. It is interesting to note that towards the end of his reign Temur-Tash minted coins.⁵ This one minting of copper coins is revealing on two counts. Firstly, it is an indication that some kind of trading took place with neighbouring areas,⁶ a supposition which is confirmed by the discovery in the reign of Temur-Tash of a copper mine north of Mayyāfāriqīn.⁷ Secondly,

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 171a.

2. Ibid., f. 175a.

3. Ibid., ff. 171a-b, f. 179b. See Chapter VII, n. 488.

4. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 171b.

5. Ibid., f. 172b.

6. Copper coins were commonly those intended for local use. The lack of silver is not surprising; the Near East at this time was in the throes of a silver famine.

7. Ibn al-Athīr, Kāmil, X, 215.

it is a sign that Temur-Tash had at least begun to assume some of the trappings of a traditional Muslim ruler - rather than those of a semi-nomadic chief. The fact that he did not strike gold coins which would have had a more than local currency is itself significant. Even in his arrogation to himself of the right to sigga, Temur-Tash retained his customary local bias.

The civilian inhabitants of the area of Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn were probably well-treated. Ibn al-Azraq's biased testimony states that Temur-Tash behaved kindly towards the local 'ulamā¹ and the important indigenous families. Ibn al-Athīr reveals that Temur-Tash appropriated in taxation only a tenth of the revenue from the harvests in comparison with Zangī who said that if it were necessary he would be prepared to levy as much as two-thirds for his important military commitments.²

Allusions to Temur-Tash's treatment of the Christian population are all too rare. As well as the possibility mentioned in Ibn al-Azraq's text that Ibn Mukhtar, one of his officials, was a Christian,³ a possibility which Cahen sees as a certainty,⁴ Michael the Syrian relates that Temur-Tash did not treat the Christians well but that at the end of his reign he repented.⁵ Michael the Syrian is as capable of biased testimony as Ibn al-Azraq and it is difficult to assess the full

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 176b.
2. Atabegs, 79.
3. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 173a.
4. "Diyār Bakr", 268.
5. Chronique, 311.

significance of this one statement.

The frequent changes of vizier and other officials faithfully recorded by Ibn al-Azraq are not remarkable for the time. They are an indication of administrative malpractices prevalent among the Artuqids and other contemporary dynasties.

The major achievement of Temur-Tash was his ability to hold on to Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn in this troubled period and to bring some measure of stability to these two cities. A rather belated recognition of this achievement was made by the caliph in 547/1152-3, the year before Temur-Tash died. Robes of honour¹ and an edict entitling him to the land arrived for him. This event is mentioned without comment by Ibn al-Azraq, although it is very significant that Temur-Tash only received official recognition from Baghdad thirty years after his taking possession of Mārdīn. This may be an indication of the relatively unimportant status accorded him by the caliph and the sultan. It may also reveal that Temur-Tash enjoyed real power in Diyār Bakr only towards the very end of his reign, a fact which is demonstrably proved by historical events. As Ibn al-Azraq's panegyric expresses it:-

"After Zangī (had been killed), no amīr other than Husām al-Dīn (Temur-Tash) remained independent, unopposed, unchallenged² and governing alone".

To balance this glowing testimony to Temur-Tash's achievements it should be added that whilst many medieval Muslim

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1. Ibn al-Azraq, Ms. A, f. 175a.

2. Ibid.

historians record the death of his father, ʾĪl-Ghāzī, his own¹ death passes unmentioned except by a few sources.

Conclusions.

With the accession of Temur-Tash in 516/1122-3 at Mārdīn and 518/1124-5 at Mayyāfāriqīn, the territorial ambitions of the Artuqids shrank to the purely local area of the Jazīra. Temur-Tash was fortunate to survive for thirty years during a period which was dominated by the monumental figure of Zangī. Locally, Temur-Tash was dwarfed by his cousin Dāʾūd and enjoyed a brief interlude of genuine power in Diyār Bakr only in the last few years of his life, when both Zangī and Dāʾūd had died. Broadly speaking, his successors also retained the local emphasis of his polity. The death of ʾĪl-Ghāzī in 516/1122-3 could have ended Artuqid hopes of acquiring for themselves a portion of Islamic territory as their permanent domain. With the succession of Temur-Tash at Mārdīn and Mayyāfāriqīn, a dynasty was firmly established and, against all odds, maintained itself in that same area until the early fifteenth century.

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1. Cf. Chapter VII, n. 636.

APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGICAL LISTS OF

RELEVANT 12TH CENTURY DYNASTIES

APPENDIX ATables showing the reigns of neighbouring rulersʿAbbāsīd Caliphs

al-Mustazhir	487/1094
al-Mustarshid	512/1118
al-Rāshid	529/1135
al-Muqtafi	530/1136
al-Mustanjid	555/1160

Great Saljuqs

Malik-Shāh	465/1072
Mahmūd	485/1092
Berk-Yaruq	487/1094
Malik-Shāh II	498/1104
Muhammad	498/1104
Sanjar	511/1117 (until 554/1159)

Saljuqs of Iraq

Mahmud	511/1117
Dāʿūd	525/1131
Toghrīl	526/1132
Masʿūd	527/1133
Malik-Shāh	547/1152
Muhammad	548/1153
Sulaimān-Shāh	555/1160

Kings of Georgia

Giorgi II	464/1072
David	482/1089
Dimitri	519/1125
Giorgi III	551/1156

Fātimids

al-Mustansir	427/1036
al-Musta'li	487/1094
al-Āmir	495/1101
al-Hāfiz	525/1131
al-Zāfir	544/1149
al-Fā'iz	549/1154
al-Ādid	555/1160

The Almoravids

Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn	543/1061
Ālī	500/1106
Tāshufīn	537/1142
Ibrāhīm	540/1146
Ishāq	540-1/1146-7

The Almohads

Muhammad b. Tūmart	(d. 524/1130)
Ābd al-Mu'min	524/1130
Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf	558/1163

The Danishmendids

Amir Ghāzī Gümüşh-Tegin	477/1084
Malik Muhammad	529/1134

The Zangids

a) At Mosul	
Imād al-Dīn Zangī	521/1127
Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī	541/1146
Qutb al-Dīn Maudūd	544/1149
Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī II	564/1169

b) At Damascus and Aleppo

Nūr al-Dīn 541/1146 - 569/1174

Rulers of Arzan and Bitlīs

Toghan Arslan 498/1104

Husām al-Dīn Qurtī 532/1137

Yāqūt Arslan 538/1143

Fakhr al-Dīn Daulat-Shāh 540/1145 - 588/1192

Rulers of Āmid

Fakhr al-Daula Ibrāhīm 492/1098

Saʿd al-Daula Īl-al-dī 504/1110

Jamāl al-Dīn Mahmūd 536/1142 - 579/1183

Rulers of Akhlāt

Sukmān al-Qutbī 493/1100

Zāhir al-Dīn Ibrāhīm 506/1112

Aḥmad b. Sukmān 521/1127

Nasīr al-Dīn Sukmān 522/1128 - 581/1185-6

The Mazyadids of Hilla

Saif al-Daula Sadaqa 479/1086

Nūr al-Daula Dubais 501/1108

Saif al-Daula Sadaqa 529/1135

Muḥammad 532/1138

ʿAlī 540-5/1145-50

The Burids

Zāhir al-Dīn Togh-Tegin Ramadān 497/May-June 1104

Tāj al-Mulūk Būrī Ṣafar 522/February-March 1128

Shams al-Mulūk Ismāʿīl Rajab 526/May-June 1132

Shihāb al-Dīn Mahmūd 14 Rabīʿ II 529/1 February 1135

Jamāl al-Dīn Muḥammad 24 Shawwāl 533/23 June 1139

(deposed 549/1154-5)

Mujīr al-Dīn Abaq 8 Shaʿbān 534/29 March 1140

(deposed 549/1154 by Mahmūd b. Zangī)

The Saljuqs of Rūm

Qilich Arslan 485/1092

Malik-Shāh 500/1107

Rukn al-Dīn Mas'ūd 510/1116

'Izz al-Dīn Qilich Arslan 551/1156

The Saltuqids of Erzerum

Abu'l-Qāsim Saltuq 465/1072

'Alī 496/1102

Abu'l-Muzaffar Ghāzī 518/1124

'Izz al-Dīn Saltuq 527/1132 - 564/1168

APPENDIX B

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ARTUQIDS

WITH COMMENTARY

APPENDIX B

Notes on the genealogical table (in back pocket):

The genealogy of the Artuqids provided by Ibn al-Azraq in his history is the earliest extant. For this reason, his information has been used as the principal basis for the table given in this appendix.

Other tables have been consulted, including those of Turan¹, Artuk² and Zambaur³. By far the fullest and best one is that of Cahen.⁴ Where there is disagreement with Cahen's reading of Ibn al-Azraq's information, this has been recorded in the footnotes.

It should be noted that Ms.A has been used since its account is much fuller than that found in Ms.B⁵, which omits entirely any mention of AlpTash and Bektash, two of the sons of Artuq, and their

¹ O.Turan, Doğu Anadolu Türk Devletleri Tarihi (Istanbul, 1973). His table is on the last page which is unnumbered.

² Op.cit. The table is also attached to the last page.

³ Op.cit., 230.

⁴ Op.cit., 268.

⁵ Ms.B, ff.105b-106b.

descendants. Ms.B also attributes the descendants of Alp-Yaruq to Siyāwush and confuses the two people mentioned in the text of Ms.A as Shams al-Daula. Ms.B also gives no genealogy for ʾĪl-Ghāzī himself.

A common error amongst the chronicles is the confusion between Sukmān b. Artuq of Ḥiṣn-Kaifā and Sukmān al-Qutbī of Akhlāt. This mistake is made by Ibn al-Azraq, who thereby contradicts himself. On f.160b he states correctly that Sukmān b. Artuq died in 498/1104-5. On f.177a, however, he writes that the death of Sukmān b. Artuq occurred in 506/1112-3.

Sukmān al-Qutbī died in 504/1110-1 or 506/1112-3 (Ibn al-Qalānisi, 174-5; Ibn al-Athīr, X, 340-1 and Atab., 18).

Ibn Taghribirdī makes a similar error in the Nujūm al-Zāhira (Recueil, III, 495-6). Under the year 503/1109-10 he refers to Sukmān b. Artuq (who had died in 498/1104-5) as lord of Armenia, Akhlāt and Mayyāfāriqīn. These territories were of course ruled at that time by Sukmān al-Qutbī. Under 504/1110-1 he mentions the death of Qutb al-Dīn Sukmān b. Artuq (sic) who was buried at Akhlāt. He then gives a false genealogy for Sukmān al-Qutbī, relating him to ʾĪl-Ghāzī and Artuq.

The following notes summarise Ibn al-Azraq's information in Ms.A, with other comments, where necessary, from either Ms.B or other sources. The aim has not been to include genealogical information provided in the later part of Ibn al-Azraq's work, which is outside the historical period treated in this thesis, but rather to

facilitate a reading of ff.177a-178b. Except where indicated, the information given in the notes which follow comes from these two folios. The reading of these folios is best accompanied by the visual aid of the table since the ambiguity of the personal pronouns renders the genealogy difficult to follow.

1. Ibrāhīm

He is omitted in Ms.B.

2. Arslan Toghmish

He ruled Mīzgard after his father's death.

3. Sulaimān

There is no information about this son of Dā'ūd.

4. Mahmūd

He took Tanzī and Qarshiyya.

5. Ya'qūb

He was in the service of Najm al-Dīn Alpī.

6. Unnamed son of Sulaimān b. Dā'ūd

He was in the service of Jamāl al-Dīn b. Temūr-Tash at Hānī.

7. Dā'ūd

He was in the service of the sons of his uncle Qara Arslan at Hışn Kaifā.

8. Nūr al-Dīn Muhammad

He succeeded his father, Qara Arslan, at Hışn Kaifā.

9. Balak

A very significant member of the Artuqid family who is virtually ignored by Ibn al-Azraq. Fortunately, other sources give ample coverage of his career.

10. Balak's daughter

She married Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan.

11. Yunus al-Harāmī

He worked for Temür-Tash (Ms.A). The author met him personally (Ms.B).

12. Sevinch

He was in the service of Jamāl al-Dīn b. Temür-Tash at Hānī.

He married the daughter of Shīrbārīk by whom he had a son, Shāh Malik. He later married another daughter of Shīrbārīk.

13. Alp-Yaruq

Ms.B omits any mention of this son of Artuq. His descendants, whom Ms.A enumerates, are attributed in Ms.B to Siyāwush. There is still justifiable confusion over the genealogy of Alp-Yaruq and especially over that of Yāqūtī. For example, Edhem, in his table of the Artuqids, has Yāqūtī as the son of Artuq, not the grandson (H. Edhem, Düvel-i Islāmiye [Istanbul, 1927], 241).

14. ‘Alī

He held Jabal Jūr after losing Mārdīn (Ms.A).

15. Shīrbārīk

He worked for Temür-Tash until the latter died. He moved to the service of Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan, then returned to work for Najm al-Dīn Alpī (Ms.A).

16. Unnamed son of ‘Alī b. Alp-Yaruq

He lived in Khartabirt (Ms.A).

17. Sevinch

He was the eldest son of Shīrbārīk. He died, leaving no issue.

He married Safiyya Khatun, daughter of Malik Ridwān (Ms.A).

Cahen records this fact without comment. It is just conceivable

that such a marriage took place but Ridwān, a contemporary of Artuq's sons, died in 507/1113-4 and Sevinch was the great-great-grandson of Artuq. Maybe this is a confused reference to Sevinch b. Siyāwush (cf. n.12 above).

18. Isma'īl

He was in the service of Najm al-Dīn Alpī (Ms.A).

19. Toghrīl

(known as Toghr Beg in Ms.A). He died in Ḥiṣn Kaifā and was buried in Mayyāfāriqīn (Ms.A).

20. The daughters of Shīrbarīk

One daughter married Sevinch. On her death, he married her sister (Ms.A).

21. Zangī b. Shīrbarīk

His mother was a slave-girl. He stayed with his father for a while, then went to Egypt to serve Shāwar (Ms.A).

22. Yaghī-Sīyan

He served at Akhlāt with the daughter of Sukmān (al-Qutbī). There he had two sons. He then moved to the service of Qara Arslan in Ḥiṣn Kaifā. He married a daughter of Arslan Toghmīsh. He died of epilepsy, leaving a son in the service of the sons of Qara Arslan (Ms.A). Cahen says it was his son 'Izz al-Dīn who died of epilepsy, though Ibn al-Azraq clearly says that it was the father who died in this way (Ms.A, f.177b).

23. Badr al-Daula Sulaimān

When he lost Aleppo, he joined the service of Temūr-Tash who gave him Qalb as an iqṭā'. He remained until his death in the service of Temūr-Tash (Ms.A).

24. Arslan b. 'Abd al-Jabbār

He took Jabal Jūr, Dhu'l-Qarnain and al-Sīwān until Temūr-Tash wrested them from him. He then moved to the service of Dā'ūd in Ḥiṣn Kaifā where he died (Ms.A). Cahen does not mention this information but states that Arslan joined the service of Temūr-Tash and Alpī, after the death of Dā'ūd.

25. Unnamed son of Yaghī-Sīyan

He worked for the sons of Qara Arslan (Ms.A).

26. Köpek

He was brought to Mārdīn after his father's death by his mother whom Temūr-Tash subsequently married. Köpek married Hadiyya Khatun and died in 554/1159-60 outside Naṣībīn (Ms.A). Cahen says he died outside Mārdīn, but gives no source for this information.

27. Unnamed daughter of Arslan b. 'Abd al-Jabbār

She married Za'im al-Daula Musayyib b. Mālik, lord of al-Raqqā (Ms.A).

28. Bulāq (بلاق)

He was in the service of Najm al-Dīn Alpī until he died (Ms.A).

29. 'Alī al-Haramī

He died in the service of Temūr-Tash (Ms.A).

30. Abū Bakr

He became a Sufī and a faqīr. He had a long life. He was in the service of the sons of Qara Arslan in Ḥiṣn Kaifā (Ms.A).

31. Arslan Toghmish

He worked for Togh-Tegin of Damascus. He married 'A'isha Khatun, the daughter of the brother of the vizier, Muḥammad al-Dvīnī. He stayed with the Būrids until 543/1148-9; he then went to

Mosul and moved to the service of Temür-Tash, who gave him a number of iqtaʿs in 544/1149-50. He died shortly afterwards (Ms.A).

32. Shams al-Daula

He died two years after his father in the service of Temür-Tash (Ms.A). Ms.B confuses this Shams al-Daula Sulaimān with the better-known man of the same name who was the son of Īl-Ghāzī. It was Īl-Ghāzī's son, Sulaimān, who had a son - Mahmūd - whose scandalous way of life Ibn al-Azraq deplored.

33. Masʿūd

He stayed in the service of Alpī, then moved to work for Qara Arslan (Ms.A). Cahen calls him Mahmūd.

34. Balak

He remained with Alpī until (5)67/1171-2 and then became an ascetic. He was still alive when Ibn al-Azraq wrote his account (MsA).

35. ʿUmar

His mother was a slave-girl. He died, leaving no issue. Īl-Ghāzī married ʿUmar's mother to one of his supporters (Ms.A).

36. Nasr

His mother was also a slave-girl, whom Īl-Ghāzī married to the hājib ʿUmar al-Khāṣṣ. Nasr died without leaving any issue (Ms.A).

37. Ayaz

He was sent by Īl-Ghāzī to fight with the troops from Mosul in 504/1110-1 (Ibn al-Qalānisi, 174-5; Ibn al-Athīr, X, 340-1 and Atab., 18). He was killed in 509/1115-6 by the men whom Bursuq had appointed to guard him (Ibn al-Athīr, X, 358).

38. Guhar Khatun

She married Dubais, by whom she had a son, 'Izz al-Dīn Muḥammad. He stayed with her until Dubais was killed. He then spent time both at al-Hilla with his brothers and at Mardīn, where he served Alpī. Guhar Khatun died in 559/1163-4 and was buried at Mardīn (Ms.A).

39. Al-Bazm

He was killed in Īl-Ghāzī's lifetime (Ms.A). Artuk calls him Elbazmi, Cahen Al-Bazm/Hazmiš.

40. Sulaimān

He ruled Mayyāfāriqīn after his father (Ms.A).

41. Safra Khatun

She married Qurtī, the lord of Arzan and Bitlīs. She had a son Yaghī-Basan, who at the time Ibn al-Azraq was writing was in the service of his uncle, Daulat-Shāh (Ms.A). She is not mentioned by Cahen.

42. Yumna Khatun

A daughter of such a name is not mentioned in the genealogical account of Ms.A., which speaks of 'Aina Khatun. But elsewhere in Ms.A (f.170a), the wife of Īl-aldī of Āmid is called Yumna Khatun. She was the mother of Shams al-Mulūk Mahmūd, who was lord of Āmid in Ibn al-Azraq's time.

43. Shihāb al-Dīn Muḥammad

He grew up in the service of Temūr-Tash, who gave him Tall Bashmī as an iqṭā'. He ended up in Syria in the service of Nūr al-Dīn, who gave him many iqṭā's. He was still alive in Ibn al-Azraq's time (Ms.A).

44. Shāh Malik

He married the daughter of Shīrbarīk in 507/1113-4 (sic) (Ms.A).

This date is much too early and is probably due to a scribal error.

45. Mahmūd

The author met him in Mārdīn (Ms.A; cf. no.32 supra).

Cahen says he was governor of Mārdīn and was then exiled to the Sāhil.

46. Jamāl al-Dīn Tughrati (?) (or Surbi ?)

Temür-Tash gave him Hānī, al-Si and Qalb (Ms.A). Tughrati is the version of the name given by Artuk. Cahen prefers Tafrati, whilst Turan avoids the problem by omitting that part of the name.

47. Samsān al-Dīn Bahrām

He was lord of Dārā (Ms.A).

48. Hadiyya Khatun

She lived in Hānī with her brother (Ms.A).

49. Zumurrud Khatun

She married Qutb al-Dīn Maudūd b. Zangī. She had four sons by him (Ms.A).

50. Safiyya Khatun

She married the lord of Āmid (Ms.A).

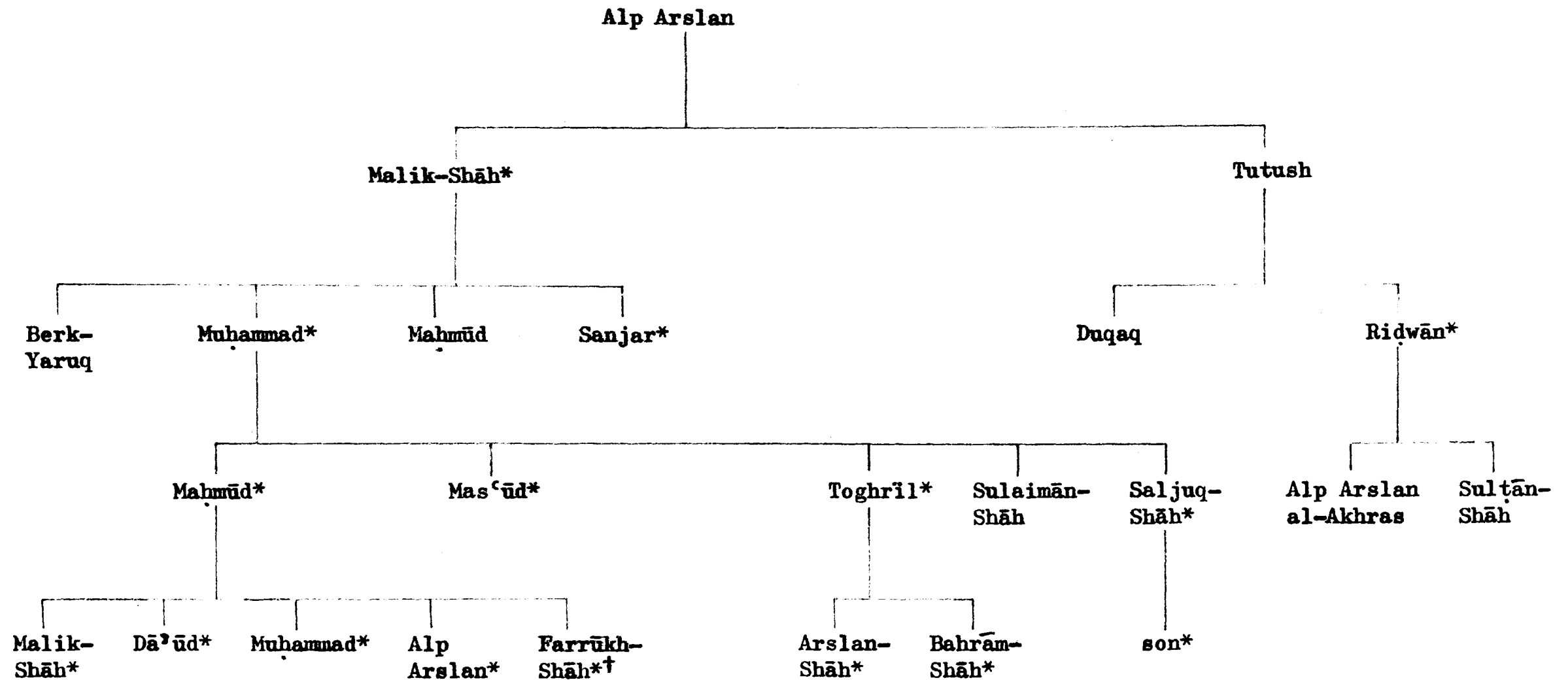
51. The sons of Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad

They served Nūr al-Dīn (Ms.A).

52. Naura Khatun

She was the wife of the lord of Arzan (Ms.A).

A genealogy of the late Saljuqs



* mentioned by Ibn al-Azraq.

† referred to by Ibn al-Azraq
as 'al-Khafājī'.

APPENDIX B

Notes on the genealogical table of the late Saljuqs

Only names important to an understanding of Ibn al-Azraq's account of the history of the Jazīra in the first half of the sixth/twelfth century have been mentioned.

Ibn al-Azraq's own genealogy of the Saljuqs is found on ff.163-164a. This has been assessed against the genealogical information found in secondary sources.¹

Those persons mentioned by Ibn al-Azraq in this part of his text are marked with an asterisk.

Apart from a few errors, Ibn al-Azraq has managed to produce a reasonably accurate genealogy.

- ¹
- i) Zambaur, op.cit., 221-2
 - ii) F.Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch (repr.Hildesheim, 1963), 452-3.
 - iii) C.E.Bosworth, The Islamic Dynasties (Edinburgh, 1967), 115-8.

APPENDIX C

TRANSLATION OF MS.B OF

TĀRĪKH MAYYĀFĀRIQĪN WA ĀMID

Translation of Or. 6310 (MS. B)

(f. 100b) The Account of the Beginning of the Rule of Najm al-Dīn
Il-Ghāzī and his Reign in Mayyāfāriqīn

Equivalen-
passage in
MS. A

It is reported that when Ibn Jahīr conquered Diyār Bakr, Amīr Artuq was with him. When Ibn Jahīr had completed his conquest of (f. 160b the country, Artuq left him and went to Syria where he lived for a while. Then he conquered Jerusalem and its environs and lived on the Sāhil. On his death, Amīr Sukmān took Jerusalem. (f. 101a)

Najm al-Dīn Il-Ghāzī went to Sultan Muhammad who granted him Hulwān as an iqṭā' for a while. Then he gave him the post of shihna of Baghdad where he remained for a time. At the time that the Franks took Jerusalem, Amīr Sukmān arrived in this area and took possession of Ḥiṣn Kaifā. The amīr Yāqūtī was (already) lord of (f. 160b Mārdīn. Najm al-Dīn arrived and remained there until 512. The sultan got in touch with Ilduz Beg ordering him to hand over Mayyāfāriqīn to Najm al-Dīn. So he surrendered it to him on 14 Jumādā II 512. He entered the city and took possession of it. Ilduz Beg left and took up quarters in al-Rawābī (?) for 3 days. On the (f. 161a fourth day, a messenger came in haste from the sultan ordering him not to surrender the city but he found that it was already too late. Najm al-Dīn became established in Mayyāfāriqīn and he showed justice, equity and kindness to the inhabitants.

Mayyāfāriqīn had declined (f. 101b) and gone to rack and ruin because of constant changes of régime and overlord. All those who (f. 161a had conquered the people had treated them harshly and tyrannised them,

the majority of the houses in the city had become ruined because they had been used as billets for troops and the people had been (f.161a) leaving their homes. From the moment that Najm al-Dīn ruled, they became secure in their homes and houses and the billeting stopped. Thereupon the soldiers who had no homes began to camp in the ruins of the city in tents as the city was devastated and the countryside was terrorised by robbers. Caravans would only go from Mayyāfāriqīn to Āmid, Ḥānī, Arzan, Mārdīn and Ḥiṣn Kaifā if they had a cavalry escort to protect them (even) over this short distance. From the moment that Najm al-Dīn ruled, the countryside and roads were safe, the robbers fled, the villages flourished and Mayyāfāriqīn began to prosper. He ruled the people extremely well.

Things continued thus until 513, when he fought the Franks (f.102a), defeated them decisively and took a great deal of (f.161a) plunder from them. This was the defeat at Balāt.

It is reported that in this year the Friday mosque at Āmid was (f.161a) burned.

In (5)14, Najm al-Dīn took Naṣībīn. Qadi 'Alam al-Dīn Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Nubāta and a group of the prominent men in Mayyāfāriqīn went and met him at Naṣībīn and congratulated him on his conquest (f.161a) of the city. He put ceremonial garments on them, treated them well and then sent them back again.

In 515 the population of Tiflīs got in touch with Najm al-Dīn asking him to come so that they might hand over Tiflīs to him. The inhabitants had run the administration by themselves for 40 years. (f.161a)

A family called the Banū Ja'far had ruled the city for about 200 years and when they died out, the citizens themselves took over the administration. Every month one of them would be in charge. When King Dā'ūd, the king of the Gurj and the Abkhāz, oppressed the city sorely, they contacted Sultan Toghril who was in Ganja and Arrān and he sent a shihna to them (f.102b). But the tyranny of the king of the Gurj towards them continued and they agreed to pay him 10,000 dīnārs every year. They also agreed to have a shihna with no more than 10 horsemen. After continuing like that for a while, they approached Najm al-Dīn and asked him to come. He set out, accompanied by Saif al-Daula Dubais b. Sadaqa al-Mazyadī who was his son-in-law - being married to his daughter Guhar Khatun - and who had joined him that year. Najm al-Dīn took troops with him and also Qadi 'Alam al-Dīn Abu'l-Hasan, whose son Qadi Abu 'l-Fath is now qādī of Mārdīn, and the vizier Abū Tammām b. 'Abdūn too. When they arrived in Erzerum, the qādī and the vizier stayed behind there. Najm al-Dīn took the troops to Kars and entered Georgia by way of Tharyālīth; many troops assembled. Sultan Toghril came from the Ganja area and Fakhr al-Dīn Toghan Arslan al-Ahdab from the district of Dvīn. The troops advanced until they were only a half day's journey away from the mountain near Tiflīs (f.103a). King Dā'ūd sallied forth from the western side while his son Dīmītrī swooped down on them from the top of the mountain when they were at the bottom of it. They engaged in a mighty battle there and countless Muslims were killed. The Georgians routed and took prisoner innumerable Muslims and Arabs, and acquired a great amount of plunder from them; indeed, prisoners have remained in their possession right up to our own time.

I saw the place of the battle when I came to Tiflīs in 548 and entered the service of the king of the Abkhāz, Dīmītrī, in Tiflīs. We travelled on a visit round his territory for a period of over 70 days, as far as al-Lān and the edge of Darband. One day we came to a broad meadow beneath a mountain, at the foot of which was a forbidding citadel. The king of the Abkhāz camped at this place (f.161b) and said to me: "O. so and so! In this citadel is a foreigner who has been a prisoner since the time of Īl-Ghāzī. (f.103b) When morning comes go up to him and see him and ask him where he comes from." So I decided to do so. That night the king received the news that some of the provinces had rebelled against him. So the bugle for departure was sounded at once and the king left and God did not decree that we should meet that man. (f.162a)

When the Muslims had been put to flight, Najm al-Dīn and Dubais left with 20 horsemen. Najm al-Dīn left for his own country, (f.162) taking all his belongings with him, and returned to Mayyāfāriqīn.

After the defeat of the Muslim troops, the king of the Abkhāz went back and camped before Tiflīs and besieged it. Then he took it by sword and entered it at the end of the year (5)15. He plundered and burned it. Then he promised its inhabitants security, treated them fairly and laid down for them the conditions which they asked for. He stipulated that there should be no pigs in the area where the Muslims lived and that these animals should not be slaughtered amongst them. He also struck dirhams for them, on one side of which was the name of the caliph and the sultan. He inclined to their wishes over the call to prayer and over public prayers (f.104a) and he stipulated on their behalf that no Georgian, Jew or Armenian

should enter the bath of Ismā'īl, and that prayers should be said on Fridays from the minbar for the caliph and the sultan but not for himself. He assessed the tax of a Georgian at five dīnārs, a Jew at four dīnārs and a Muslim at three dīnārs. He decreed that the (f.162a) Muslims might shed with impunity the blood of anyone who harmed them. He treated the Muslims extremely kindly, whilst to the people of religion and 'ilm and the Sūfīs he accorded a level of respect and reverence which they did not receive (even) amongst the Muslims. I witnessed all these conditions still in force for the Muslims in our own time, when I visited the city in the year 548. That year I saw King Dīmītrī who had come to Tiflīs. After he had (f.162a) stayed there a few days, he went down on the Friday to the mosque and sat down on a dikka opposite the minbar and the preacher. After he had heard the entire khutba and had remained standing until the people (f.104b) had prayed, he went out and donated that day 200 gold dīnārs to the mosque. I used to see him accord considerable respect to the people of religion, the 'ulamā', the Sūfīs, the preachers and the sharīfs who would seek him out. He treated them kindly, showing them honour and respect and giving them many presents.

It is reported that in the year 516 there was an earthquake in the city of Ganja; part of it fell to pieces and its walls collapsed. King Dā'ūd left (Tiflīs) and attacked the city. He captured and (f.162a) imprisoned many of its inhabitants, whom he carried away on carts (f.162b) like sheep, and he plundered everything in the city. When he brought the prisoners into Tiflīs, the citizens bought most of them and set them free.

When Najm al-Dīn returned to Mayyāfāriqīn, he went to Mārdīn

where he stayed until 516. He fell ill and was taken to Aushal al- (f.162) Haina in the district of Mayyāfāriqīn, accompanied by the khatun, the daughter of Togh-Tegin and his son, Shams al-Daula (f.105a) Sulaimān. Al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn stayed behind in Mārdīn. Najm al-Dīn was ill for a few days and then died on Thursday 17 Ramadān 516 in al-Aushal. Shams al-Daula and the khatun set off on horseback by night and came to the Huwa gate where they shouted for the wālī, whose name was al-Hājib Oghuzoghlu. He came down and opened the Huwa gate and they went in, with Najm al-Dīn placed on a horse, held upright by a man behind him, while Shams al-Daula and the khatun rode beside him. Once inside the citadel they told the wālī that the amīr was ill. When they reached the centre of the citadel, they began shouting and yelling, the amīr was taken down and they announced that he had just died. In the morning the population went up to the citadel and the amīr was washed. He was buried in the citadel in the sidillī for a while, then he was removed to the masjid al-amīr where he was buried, as we shall relate later on. Najm al-Dīn had (f.162b) married the khatun - Farkhundā, the daughter of Malik Ridwān - when he had taken possession of Aleppo but he did not (f.105b) consummate the marriage, nor did he visit her, and he died without having met her.

We will mention now the amīrs who are the descendants of Artuq.

When Artuq died he left a number of sons amongst whom were Sukmān, Najm al-Dīn ʾl-Ghāzī, Bahrām, 'Abd al-Jabbār, Siyāwush and Alp-Yaruq. These are the ones who had children and whose descendants remained in Diyār Bakr. He left other sons apart from these, but (f.177a) as I have found no descendants of theirs living in our own time I have not mentioned them.

Amir Sukmān left Amir Dā'ūd, who took possession of Hisn Kaifā after Sukmān and subsequently conquered other cities too. (f.177a)
 Dā'ūd had four sons:- Amir Arslan Toghmīsh, Sulaimān, Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan and Mahmūd.

Bahrām left Balak, who took possession of the province of Khartabirt and Bālū and its environs. Balak married the khatun, (f.177a) the daughter of Malik Ridwān, after Najm al-Dīn (had died) and he took Aleppo. He consummated the marriage with the khatun. He took some of the territory (f.106a) on that side of the Euphrates and he made raids against the Franks.

As regards Siyāwush, he left Amir Yūnus al-Harāmī whom I have met, and he came and worked for al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn and died in his service. Siyāwush (also) left sons, amongst whom was Amir 'Alī. The latter fathered Shīrbārīk and his brother, who died, leaving a son who is still alive today. Shīrbārīk also had sons, of whom the (f.177a) ones still alive now are Sevinch and Ismā'īl. The eldest of Shīrbārīk's children, who was called Zangī, was born of a slave-girl. He left his father for a while and went away to Egypt. He is now in the service of the caliph of Egypt. Shīrbārīk remained in the service of al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn until the latter died. He then transferred to the service of Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan and remained with him for a time before returning to employment with al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn.

As for 'Abd al-Jabbār, he left three sons: Yaghī-Sīyan, Arslan and Sulaiman. Yaghī-Sīyan moved away (f.106b) and served in the government of Akhlāṭ. He had two sons there; the one was called Aḥmad and the (f.177b)

other had the laqab 'Izz al-Dīn. Yaghī-Siyan then moved to the service of Fakhr al-Dīn with whom he remained and who married Yaghī-Siyan to the daughter of his elder brother. He died while he was with him, leaving a son who is in his employ. As regards Arslan, he took Jabal Jūr, Dhu 'l-Qarnain and al-Sīwān on behalf of his father and Khutlugh-Shāh took over the post of wālī of the town. Shams al-Daula left a son whose name was Mahmūd and who was in Mārdīn. He was in a bad way because of the evil life he led and his disobedience to (f.163a) the members of his family, his lack of ambition and the depravity of his soul. I do not know what became of him.

The account of the rule of al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn, may God be pleased with him

When Shams al-Daula died, al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn came and camped outside the gate (of Mayyāfāriqīn). He made contact with Khutlugh-Shāh and the affair was settled between them. Khutlugh-Shāh surrendered to him and Husām al-Dīn took possession of the town (f.107a) in Shawwāl (f.162 and 528. He appointed 'Abd al-Malik as vizier. Husām al-Dīn became f.163 established and he acquired everything that had belonged to his father Najm al-Dīn. He took Aleppo and wielded independent power. He married the wife of his brother Ayaz and he had by her Safiyya Khatun who was the eldest of his children. Then he married the khatun, the daughter of Ghāzī of Erzerum. She came to Mayyāfāriqīn, he consummated the marriage with her, and had by her the lord Najm al-Dīn (in 520), Jamāl al-Dīn Surbī (?) (in 521), Hadiyya Khatun (lacuna) and Samsām al-Dīn Bahram in the year (lacuna). Husām al-Dīn took power and acquired everything that had belonged to his father. He was a knowledgeable, just amīr, who possessed intelligence, sagacity and familiarity with all

branches of knowledge.

It is reported that in 522 Nūr al-Daula (f.107b) Balak was killed outside Manbij in Syria. He left no children other than a daughter whom Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan married. Rukn al-Daula (f.163b) Dā'ūd took all Balak's possessions in the area of Khartabirt, Bālū and its neighbourhood.

It is reported that in 521 al-Bursuqī was killed in the Friday mosque at Mosul. His son Mas'ūd took over the country and Mosul (f.163b) after him. Bahā' al-Dīn b. al-Shahrazūrī, Nasīr al-Dīn Jaqar and Ṣalāh al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yaghī-Sīyanī went to Baghdad taking funds. They paid their respects to Sultan Mahmūd in order that they might put al-Bursuqī's son in power. But when they arrived, they reconsidered and said (to one another): "He is a young boy. It may well be that he will not remain in power and there is no unborn child." They therefore had a meeting with Atabeg Zangī b. Aq-Sonqur, who was shihna in Baghdad, and they came to an arrangement with him. They exacted an oath from him promising that the post of qādī of the country should go to Bahā' al-Dīn, that Nasīr al-Dīn should control Mosul and all the wālīs, and that Ṣalāh al-Dīn should have the post of chamberlain and control of the troops (f.108a). (f.163b) When that had been decided, they paid the sultan the money, asking for one of his children for whom Zangī should act as atābeg. The sultan handed over to him two sons, Alp Arslan and al-Khafājī, and the country(of Mosul) became theirs. Zangī entered the city at the beginning of 522 and took possession of the whole country.

In 523 the Atabeg Togh-Tegin died in Damascus and his son, (f.163)

Tāj al-Mulūk, assumed power.

(f.163b)

In 524 Sultan Mahmūd died outside Isfahān and he was buried (f.163b) there. His brother, Mas'ūd, became sultan. In (5)24, Princess Sayyida Khatun, the daughter of al-Qilich Arslan, died in Mayyāfāriqīn and was buried beside her father in the qubba. After a while her (f.164a) brother, Malik Toghril, came from Hīsn Kaifā and collected what she had bequeathed to him. He was the son-in-law of the amīr, being married to his daughter. Amir Dā'ūd had (f.108b) married 'Ā'isha Khatun, her mother.

In the year 526 the caliph al-Mustarshid bi'llāh went to Mosul. He encamped before it and laid siege to it for a while. In command (f.164b) of the city was Nasīr al-Dīn Jaqar who had dug a trench around Mosul and re-built (the walls). The caliph pressed the siege but he was unsuccessful and returned to Baghdad.

In 527 the vizier 'Abd al-Malik died in Mayyāfāriqīn and al-Nāsīh 'Alī b. Ahmad al-Āmidī took over the supervision of the dīwān. When he was mutawallī in Āmid, Ibn Nīsān had seized him, mulcted him for 30,000 dīnārs and taken over his post. His son Abū Nasr (f.164b) arrived in Mayyāfāriqīn when the vizier 'Abd al-Malik was in power and the latter had given him the profit from the harvest. He gave al-Nāsīh himself the post of administering the waqfs. He stayed until the vizier died and he then took over control of the dīwān (f.109a).

In 528, al-Mu'ayyid Abu'l-Hasan b. Mukhtar arrived from the Jazīra. He had been mulcted by the vizier 'Abd al-Malik and had (f.164b) gone off to the Jazīra where he had stayed until that year. He

then came to Mayyāfāriqīn and met the amīr who appointed him to the dīwān al-istifā' with al-Nāsiḥ. His brother Abū Sa'īd was in Mayyāfāriqīn and he remained a while too.

At the end of 528 Ḥabashī b. Muḥammad b. Ḥabashī arrived from the people of Iraq and al-Makīn Abu'l-Barakāt

b. Abi'l-Fahm al-Harranī came with him into the (f.164b service of al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn. Ḥabashī became established as vizier. He had worked for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn in Ḥamā, but he had seized him and tortured him by tying a dog to him inside a sack. While the dog struck and bit his body, he squeezed the dog's head and wedged it between his legs. He finally wrung its neck so that it died in the (f.164b sack. Ḥabashī was released and he ran away. (f.109b) Having stayed in Qal'at Ja'bar with Shihāb al-Dīn Mālīk b. Sālīm b. Mālīk for a time, he left him and came to Mārdīn that year. After a while he took over as vizier and acquired an unprecedented degree of power, ruling as a complete autocrat. When he came to Mayyāfāriqīn at the beginning of 529, he conducted an inspection of tax-officials and scribes, oppressed them most cruelly and humiliated and coerced them. When they (Ḥabashī and his followers) arrived in Mayyāfāriqīn, al-Mu'ayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan ran away and returned to the Jazīra. Ḥabashī seized al-Nāsiḥ and his son and mulcted them both. Al-Nāsiḥ died in Mayyāfāriqīn but Amir al-Ḥasadā b. 'Azīz (?) fixed a price for his son and took him to Āmid. Al-'Āmid Abū Ṭahir b. al-Muḥtasib took over power in Mayyāfāriqīn. He had been in prison for six years and Ḥabashī released him and appointed him wālī.

It is reported (f.110a) that in 529 the Caliph al-Mustarshid left Baghdad and joined battle against Sultan Mas'ūd, who defeated him and (f.164b seized him and all his state officials. When I went down to Baghdad

in the months of 534, I asked al-Sa'īd Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Sadīd al-Daula Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Karīm b. al-Anbārī, may God have mercy on him, about the affair of al-Mustarshid, about the battle (f.164b) and its outcome, the reason why al-Muqtafī assumed office and how he came to hold exclusive power.

Al-Anbārī said: 'After al-Mustarshid had declared his earnest intention to rebel and persisted in this and Jamāl al-Dīn b. Talha had expressed his agreement to such a plan, and I had been summoned (f.165a) to them, we went in to see the caliph and the vizier said: "O master, where are you going and who will give you support and help? Whom can we trust? We are strongest if we stay in Baghdad. If anyone attacks us here, we will win and Iraq (f.110b) is our protection. When al-Husain b. 'Alī, blessings be upon him, went out towards Iraq, he met his fate and if he had stayed in Mecca and Medina nobody would have turned against him and all the people would have paid (f.165a) allegiance to him." The caliph said: "O scribe, what do you think?" So I said: "We should stay put. What the vizier has advised is the right thing to do. No-one will attack us in Iraq. Would God that Iraq remains ours." So he said to the treasurer: "O wākīl, what do you say?" He replied: "I think the same way as my master." Al-Mustarshid said: "If death is inevitable, it is weak to be a coward." Thereupon he left taking troops.

When the armies met outside Hamadhān, we were defeated, the camp was plundered and al-Mustarshid, the vizier and the functionaries of state were taken prisoner. We were brought to a citadel called Sar-ī (f.165a) Jahān near Qazwīn and Rayy. (I [the author] saw the citadel on my journey (f.111a) to Rayy in 549, looming into view at the top of a

mountain). The vizier Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī and Jamāl al-Dīn (f.165a the treasurer, the naqīb of the 'Alids and I were taken to the citadel, where we remained for a time. The sultan took al-Mustarshid with him and went round Āzarbāijān with him until he was outside Marāgha. It was then that three heretics entered al-Mustarshid's (f.165a tent and he was murdered - may God be pleased with him. A man called (f.165 Ibn Sakīna who was leading him in prayer was killed with him. It was on Thursday 26 Dhu'l-Qa'da 529.' The caliphate of al-Mustarshid lasted seventeen years and a few months. He had appointed as heir his son Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr al-Rāshid bi'llāh, Commander of the Faithful, who had stayed behind in Baghdad. It is said that Sultan (f.111b Sanjar sent the people who killed al-Mustarshid. But another report says that Sultan Mas'ūd, after having asked for - and received - permission from his uncle Sanjar to kill him, commissioned those men who accordingly went into his tent and killed him. He was (f.165b buried in the city of Marāgha.

Saif al-Daula Dubais was with the sultan in the camp when (f.165b the caliph was captured and it is said that he incited the sultan to kill him. So when the sultan came near Tabrīz, Dubais was killed. He was taken from Tabrīz to Mārdīn to Guhar Khatun and buried in the mashhad of Najm al-Dīn Īl-Ghāzī. After a short time the sultan married the daughter of Dubais. Her mother was Sharaf Khatun, the daughter of 'Amīd al-Daula b. Jahīr by Zubaida the daughter of Nizām (f.165 al-Mulk al-Hasan b. Ishāq.

The narrative of al-Sa'īd Mu'ayyid al-Dīn continued thus: (f.165b 'When al-Mustarshid was killed, Sultan Mas'ūd summoned us to his

presence, so the vizier, the treasurer (f.112a) (and I) went to see him. The naqīb al-tāhir had died in the citadel where he was buried. (f.16 We went in to see the sultan who said: "What is your opinion? What should be done about the caliphate? Whom do you think suitable?" The vizier said: "O master! The caliphate belongs to the heir, al-Rāshid, for the people already pledged allegiance to him when he was made heir-apparent and have again done so now after the murder of his father." The sultan said: "That is completely impossible. I will never confirm him as caliph, for he is thinking of rebelling just like his father did. Al-Mustarshid constantly rebelled against (f.165 us from the moment he assumed power; he rebelled against my brother Maḥmūd twice, against me once before and now yet again. He got what was coming to him but it is we who will be saddled with the shame and ignominy of his murder until the end of time. I want to appoint someone who will involve himself in nothing but caliphal and religious matters and who will not rebel against me nor against the members of my family. There are several members of the family. Choose (f.112b) a shaikh from amongst their number who possesses judgement and resourcefulness, who keeps himself to himself and does not leave his house. Do not look further than Hārūn b. al-Muqtadī for he is an old shaikh, and will not stir up dissension. He was recommended by my uncle, Sanjar, Sultan of the World.'" (f.165b

There were at that time in the palace seven brothers, the (f.165b sons of al-Muqtadī. They too had sons and grand-sons. Some lived until the year 553. There were (also) in the palace seven brothers, who were the sons of al-Mustazhir, amongst whom were Amir Abū ‘Abdallāh,

Abu Tālīb, Abu Nasr, Abu'l-Qāsim, Abū 'Alī, Ismā'īl and Yahyā. (f.165b)
 They (too) had a number of sons and grandsons. Al-Mustarshid also
 had a number of sons. And then there was al-Rāshid who had some
 twenty sons, the eldest of whom was the amīr al-jaish who had been
 born to his father al-Rāshid when he was nine years old. This is (f.165b)
 an unprecedented occurrence.

Someone I trust in Baghdad told me that al-Mustarshid (f.113a) (f.165b)
 acquired five concubines for al-Rāshid, when he was seven years old. (f.166a)
 He ordered them to play with him and to make themselves available
 to him. This situation lasted until he was nine when a yellow-
 skinned Abyssinian slave-girl amongst them became pregnant. This
 information reached al-Mustarshid who refused to believe it. He
 summoned the girl and threatened her. She said: "By God, he (al-
 Rāshid) is the only person who has been near me. He is mature like
 all other men." (So) the slave-girl wore a piece of cloth, while he
 had intercourse with her. When he rose from her, she removed the (f.166a)
 piece of cloth and there was semen on it. And it was the same with
 the other concubines. The people had a close look and there was
 semen with each concubine. When the slave-girl reached the end of
 her confinement, she gave birth to a son whom al-Mustarshid called
amīr al-jaish and he was extremely happy about him.

It is said that al-Rāshid followed his father's courageous and
 ambitious policies and that is why the sultan turned away from him.
 It is reported that Sultan Mas'ūd approached his uncle asking for
 advice on whom he should appoint (as caliph). He received a reply (f.166a)
 from Sanjar as follows: "Appoint only someone (f.113b) on whom the
 vizier, the treasurer and the kātib al-inshā' agree and whose good

conduct they will guarantee, and for whom they will accept (f.166a responsibility." So when Sultan Mas'ūd suggested appointing Hārūn, Sharāf al-Dīn (al-Zainabī) said, "If that is going to be our responsibility, then we will appoint someone we think suitable. The person (whom we have in mind) leads an ascetic life and worships (God). There is no-one like him in the palace." The sultan asked: "Who is he?". The vizier replied: "He is Amir Abū 'Abdallāh b. al-Mustazhir." He was the son-in-law of Sharaf al-Dīn al-Zainabī, (f.166a being married to a daughter of his. He had married her in the reign of his father al-Mustazhir and she had died while with him. At that time al-Zainabī was the naqīb al-nuqabā'. He was subsequently transferred to the post of vizier.

Then the sultan set off for Baghdad accompanied by the vizier (f.166b and all his retinue. Al-Rāshid had sent a message to Atabeg Zangī asking him to come, and guaranteeing to him that he would appoint as sultan one of the maliks, the sons of Maḥmūd, who were with him, (and) that he would make Zangī atābeg for the sultanate (f.114a) and the caliphate. Zangī therefore went down to Baghdad, camped on its western side and stayed until the sultan approached Baghdad. When al-Rāshid realised the situation, and that their arrival (i.e. that of the sultan's party) was imminent, that they were (f.166b resolved to appoint (as caliph) someone other than him and that they had got as far as al-Nahrawān, he put all the amīrs in a cellar in the palace and imprisoned them in it. I heard this story from al-Ajall Zain al-Daula b. al-Sāhib who was hājib al-bāb with al-Rāshid at that time. He said: 'Al-Rāshid called me in and gave me a sword. He took a sword in his hand and said: "Here is my hand and here is yours. When we fetch out each amīr we will kill him so that not one of them remains and there will be no-one left to

assume power." So he ordered the cellar to be opened. Then the messenger came to say that Atabeg Zangī had left. He had stayed until he heard that the sultan had arrived in al-Nahrawān. At that point he had gone off to plunder the Tāhirid harīm and then left. When al-Rāshid heard the news he threw the sword from his hand and went into (f.114b) the palace. He grabbed jewels of inestimable (f.166b value, giving me some of them too. He then went away, taking with him the chief qādī, al-Zainabī, and followed Atabeg Zangī towards Mosul.'

Al-Sa'īd Mu'ayyid al-Dīn said: 'The following morning, we entered Baghdad on 10 Dhu'l-Qa'da 530. The sultan went to his (f.166b palace and we and the vizier went to our houses. The next morning we entered the caliphal palace and went in to see Amir 'Abdallāh. The vizier and other officials had a talk with him and fixed the conditions on which he was to become caliph and stipulated that he should respect and obey the sultan. We informed him that we had vouched on his behalf for all the conditions which the sultan and the vizier had suggested. He was content with all that and we left him. The following morning we went to the sultan and told him what had happened and that Amir Abū 'Abdallāh had agreed to all the conditions we had imposed on him. (f.115a) So the sultan said: (f.167a) "Tomorrow, summon the people to pledge allegiance to him". The next day, which was Tuesday 13 Dhu'l-Qa'da 530, Amir Abū 'Abdallāh was in the palace and I handed him a paper with some names on it; al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh, al-Mustadī' bi-Nūr Allah and al-Mustanjid bi'llāh. So Abū 'Abdallāh said: "That's up to you". The vizier said to me: "What do you think?" So I said: "Al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh." Then the caliph said: "Blessed be that name." Then the (f.167a)

caliph stretched out his hand and the vizier said: "I have pledged allegiance to our lord and master al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh, Commander of the Faithful, on God's book and on the sunna and the ijtihād of his prophet, the messenger of God." He kissed his hand and stood up. Jamāl al-Dīn, the treasurer, pledged allegiance to him in the same way, kissed his hand and stood up. I took his hand and said: "I have pledged allegiance to our lord and master al-Muqtafī li-Amr Allāh, Commander of the Faithful, on the same conditions as I pledged allegiance to his father, his brother and his nephew and at the heir-apparent ceremony of the latter" (al-Rāshid). I kissed his hand and stood up. Then the people came in and the 'ulamā', the fuqahā', (f.115b) all the amīrs in the palace, the notables and military (f.167a) leaders pledged allegiance to him.'

Objects and articles were removed from the palace of al-Rāshid and the fuqahā' issued a fatwā deposing him and declaring him unfit for the office. The qādī who pronounced this judgement was Sharaf al-Qudāt Ibn al-Karkhī, the qādī of the Shāfi'ites. Three days (f.167a) later, Sultan Mas'ūd arrived and went in to see the caliph. He pledged allegiance to him and kissed his hand. The khwāja Amir Tatār the hājib and all the sultan's officials pledged allegiance to him. He assumed power and became established in the caliphate.

The caliphate of al-Rāshid, from the moment when his father rebelled and was killed until his own deposition, lasted approximately one year and two months. A number of people had held office as vizier to al-Mustarshid in his time. Amongst them were Nizām al-Dīn Abū (f.167a) Naṣr Ahmad b. Nizām al-Mulk and Sharaf al-Dīn Anūshīrwān, each of whom held office twice. Then Jalāl al-Dīn Abū 'Alī b. Ṣadaqa became vizier

until he died. Then the naqīb al-nuqabā', Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī b. Tirād al-Zainabī (f.116a) held office as vizier to al-Mustarshid until the caliph was killed. Al-Zainabī then came to Baghdad and when al-Muqtafī assumed control, he served as his vizier.

To go back to what happened to al-Rāshid: he left and went (f.167a) to Mosul, accompanied by the chief qādī, al-Zainabī, for he had left Jalāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Ridā b. Sadaqa as vizier in Baghdad and taken al-Zainabī with him to Mosul. Having stayed in Mosul with Atabeg Zangī, he went with Zangī up as far as Nasībīn and then returned to Mosul. Thereafter he left the atābeg and went in search of the sultan, to ask his permission to enter Khurāsān. When he was near (f.167b) Isfahān a group of heretics rose against him, went into his tent and killed him in the month of Ramadān 532. He was taken to Isfahān and buried in the city of Shahrīstān which is one farsakh from Isfahān. It is said that it was built by Alexander on a bridge over the river Zāyanda. It is reported that the sultan sent people who killed al-Rāshid and he put the blame on the heretics.

The chief qādī and Jalāl al-Dīn (f.116b) had stayed in Mosul after al-Rāshid's departure. The chief qādī then went down to Baghdad and returned to his post. As for Jalāl al-Dīn Abu'l-Ridā (f.167b) b. Sadaqa, he stayed in Mosul and became vizier to Atabeg Zangī for a while after the death of Diyā' al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd b. al-Kafartūthī. He was subsequently dismissed and returned to Baghdad.

Al-Muqtafī became established in the caliphate and his rule was

secure. He married Fāṭima Khatun, the daughter of Sultan Muhammad, (f.169e who was brought to him in Baghdad during the year (5)34 and joined him in the caliphal palace. I was in Baghdad that year and I saw Caliph Muqtafī on the day Khwāja 'Izz al-Mulk came and pledged allegiance to him. I was present at the betrothal of the daughter of Caliph Muqtafī to Sultan Mas'ūd which took place this year after Fāṭima Khatun had come to live with al-Muqtafī and the betrothal ceremony was in the Bāb al-Hujra. The khwāja Amir Tatār al-hājib (f.169e was present and Qadi al-Zainabī preached a sermon.

In this year the vizier Sharaf (f.117a) al-Dīn left his (f.169t house in high dudgeon and went to the sultan's palace. He then stayed in the house of Najm al-Dīn Rashīd al-Jāmdār.

After the caliph had got in touch with the sultan asking his permission to dismiss Sharaf al-Dīn, he was duly dismissed. I was (f.169t in Baghdad at the time of his dismissal, with Mu'ayyid al-Dīn the treasurer and Muwaffiq al-Daula Buqsh al-Khādim and then I left Baghdad. At the beginning of the year (5)30 the caliph appointed as vizier the ustādh al-dār, who at that time was Nizām al-Dīn Abu'l-Muzaffar b. al-Za'im b. Jahīr. The chief qādī, al-Zainabī, had deputised as vizier for a while, as had al-Sa'id Mu'ayyid al-Dīn, until Nizām al-Dīn became vizier. He remained in office until 542 (f.173t when he was dismissed and Qawām al-Dīn b. Sadaqa, who was the treasurer, took over. He stayed in office until the beginning of (5)44 when he was dismissed and replaced in (5)44 by 'Aun al-Dīn Abū Muzaffar (f.174a Muhammad b. Yahyā b. Hubaira, who had been in charge of the dīwān al-zimām wa'l-istifā'. Al-Muqtafī became established (f.117b) in the caliphate. In (5)43 his wife, Fāṭima Khatun, died. In (5)44 he (f.172

made his son, Amir Abū Muzaffar, his heir, the people paid homage to him and a sermon was preached before him at the ceremony celebrating him as heir-apparent. The affairs of the caliphate remained stable until the year 54- when Sultan Mas'ūd came to Baghdad. He spent (f.175b the winter there and in the spring he went to Hamadhān. That year I was in Baghdad where I stayed until 1 Rajab (5)47 when I went to Mayyāfāriqīn. When we arrived in Takrīt we heard that Sultan Mas'ūd had died. He had been ill outside Hamadhān for a few days and died (f.175b on 11 Jumādā II 547. The caliph sallied forth and occupied the palace of the sultan. He mobilised troops and seizing Iraq he took sole possession of it. Fakhr al-Dīn Mas'ūd Bilāl, the shihna of Baghdad, fled to Takrīt. The caliph removed the mu'an, the a'shār (f.175b and the mukūs in their entirety. He treated the people kindly and acted justly towards his subjects. (f.118a) All Iraq came under his sway. After he had sent troops, al-Hilla and Wāsīt were taken (f.175b and he acquired all the revenues of Iraq.

At the time of his death Sultan Mas'ūd had Malik-Shāh, the son (f.175b of his brother Mahmūd, in the 'askar with him. This man seized power and set himself up as sultan. After a while he got in touch with Ibn Palang-Eri, summoned his brother from Khūzistān and became secure as sultan. When Malik-Shāh went to Khūzistān, his brother Muhammad-Shah, the son-in-law of Mas'ūd - being married to his (f.175b daughter - stayed behind. He set himself up as sultan and became established in the sultanate at Hamadhān, without being mentioned in the khutba in Iraq. He took the region of Hamadhān and Isfahān and that side, and after a time he killed Khāss Beg b. Palang-Eri, becoming secure and stable in the sultanate. (f.175b

It is reported that in 528 'Abd al-Mu'min conquered the Maghrib (f.168). I will mention something about him and how his career began. The story goes as follows. Muhammad b. Tūmart, who was from the Maṣmūda (tribe), went (f.118b) to the countries of the east where (f.168) he remained for a while before returning to the Maghrib in 519. While he was staying in Marrākush a group of the fūqahā' met him. When he had debated with them they realised that his views were unorthodox for the madhhab and religious faith of the people of the Maghrib. They therefore disapproved of him and held a meeting with the amīr al-muslimīn, 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn, in 520, at which they said: "Send this man away from us. If you don't, he will corrupt the people." 'Alī therefore ordered him to be sent (f.168) away, banishing him to the mountain area of the Maṣmūda, a group of Berbers who were his own tribe. After he had spent some time with them, he incited them to disobey the amīr al-muslimīn and they refused to fulfil the obligations imposed on them. Having mobilised troops he joined battle with them and defeated them. The commander of the troops, 'Abdallāh b. Maḥiya, was killed. The amīr al-muslimīn therefore went out in person and joining battle with him, defeated (f.168) him. Ibn Tūmart consolidated his position in the mountains, which is a journey of a month or two. This mountain area is called Daran and is in the province of Marrākush and Sūs. Ibn Tūmart lived there until 523 (f.119a) when he died.

His place was taken by 'Alī al-Wansharishī who equipped troops and laid siege to Marrākush in 524. After the amīr al-muslimīn had defeated him and hounded him out of Marrākush, al-Wansharishī fled to (f.168b) the mountains and strengthened his position there. The situation between the two of them remained more or less unchanged until 528 when al-

Wansharishī died. He was succeeded by 'Abd al-Mu'min b. 'Alī who (f.168t) belonged to the Hargha people. He was one of the companions, disciples and supporters of Muhammad b. Tūmart al-Sūsi, and was a Berber tribesman. Having mobilised troops he met the amīr al-muslimīn in battle and defeated him. He took possession of the whole mountain area, seizing another province too before going down in the year (lacuna) to the desert. Then he conquered most of the land of the Maghrib, acquiring every place. He took all of Ifriqiyya and most of al-Andalūs, seizing a great deal of territory from the Christians. In 540 he met the amīr al-muslimīn, Tāshufīn b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf, and defeated him. He killed a great number of people and imprisoned and killed the amīr al-muslimīn. His grip on the country tightened, (f.119b) the people stood in awe of him and he increased in their estimation. In 542 he took the city of Tūnis, which is a large area, for it is said in the Kitāb al-masālik wa' l-mamālik that the circumference of its walls is 21 miles. In 547 he conquered the province of the Banū Hammād and drove them from it, killing a group (f.168t) of their leaders. In 552 he conquered and took possession of al-Mahdiyya and in 553 he seized Almeria which the Christians had taken from the Banū Hammād in 549. When the Christians had looted it, the plunder from the city had reached even as far as the Sāhil and Syria (f.168) and the city had remained in their hands until 'Abd al-Mu'min conquered it from them, encountering no resistance at all. He built two great cities, one of which is (a port) and which he called al-Mahdiyya and the other is (inland) which he called (lacuna). His sovereignty became established and he is still in the land of (f.168b) the Christians of the west, conquering it bit by bit. This is what I have heard about him.

In 529 (f.120a) al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn had married the princess, (f.167b the daughter of Ridwān and the widow of Badr al-Daula, and Majd al-Dīn b. al-Sadīd had drawn up the marriage contract. This year I was in Mārdīn and it was the first time I had travelled away from Mayyāfāriqīn. (f.167

In 528 Atabeg Zangī and al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn had attacked the citadel of al-Sūr. The atābeg conquered it and killed Amir Hamdān b. (f.167 Aslam who was living there. It had been in the possession of Amir Rukn al-Daula Dā'ūd and Zangī handed it over to al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al- (f.167b Dīn. In 530 he (al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn) gave orders for the rabad and (f.168a the muhaddatha to be destroyed, for a quarrel had broken out between al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn and Amir Dā'ūd and he (Dā'ūd) began wrecking the town on Friday 9 Muḥarram. Al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn and the atābeg joined forces and defeated Dā'ūd outside Āmid, before moving on to Jabal Jūr which they seized, together with al-Sīwān and Dhu'l-Qarnain. These places the atābeg handed over to (f.120b) al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn while Amir Arslan fled to Amir Dā'ūd. In 528 Amir Dā'ūd had plundered the (f.168 rabad of Tanzī and carried off all its inhabitants into captivity. The women were raped with more savagery than if the Christians had attacked them.

In 532 the Byzantine emperor left Constantinople for Syria. (f.169a He seized Buza'a, leading all its inhabitants into captivity, and encamped before Aleppo. Although he clashed with Atabeg Zangī, he remained fixed on his goal, but when more troops joined Zangī and Amir Dā'ūd sent his son with soldiers, the Byzantine emperor left (f.169a Aleppo and returned to his own country.

In this year Bahā' al-Dīn al-Shahrazūrī died in al-Raqqa. He was succeeded as chief qādī by his son Najm al-Dīn. (f.121a) This year I was in the Jazīra where I stayed for a while.

In 533 Amir Dā'ūd looted Arzan, taking all its inhabitants (f.169 into captivity, and he made over the people, their property and their women to his troops for them to loot and plunder. They received even more barbaric treatment than the people of Tanzī. When al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn arrived in Mayyāfāriqīn, Husām al-Daula Qurtī (f.169 b. al-Ahdab joined him from Arzan. In this year Husām al-Dīn defeated the Franks outside Edessa and the caravan was seized. In this year Atabeg Zangī and al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn quarrelled and Salāh al-Dīn went up to Mārdīn and established peace between them. Husām al-Dīn handed Dārā over to Zangī who married Safiyya Khatun, (f.169 daughter of Husām al-Dīn. At the end of this year I was in Āmid and I returned to Mayyāfāriqīn. At the end of Dhu'l-Hijja I travelled to Baghdad, passing through Mosul. (f.121b)

In Šafar 534 Safiyya Khatun arrived in Mosul and she was taken to the malik. I was in Mosul and I went down to Baghdad where I (f.169 stayed for six months before returning to Mayyāfāriqīn.

In Muharram 535 Amir Dā'ūd raided Mayyāfāriqīn, plundering the (f.169 town. He encamped before it and stayed eight days before going to Tall Shaikh, which he took and distributed as an iqṭā'. He subsequently went up to Bushāt and took it. The whole area came under his sway. Each day he continued raiding up as far as the gate and even taking the people's clothes from the river. In power in Mayyāfāriqīn were (f.169 Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥabashī and the chamberlain Yūsuf Īnal, with Ḥabashī having control of the 'askar and the town and ruling the people. The quarrel between al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn and Dā'ūd lasted until the beginning of (f.122a) 536 when they made peace and reached agreement. Amir (f.169)

Dā'ūd came to Mayyāfāriqīn and the two of them met in the citadel (f.169b) where they reached agreement.

Halfway through Jumādā I 536 Amir Sa'd al-Daula Ḥl-aldī, (f.170a) lord of Amid, died. Mu'ayyid al-Dīn b. Nīsān was in the town, so he appointed Ḥl-aldī's son, Shams al-Mulūk Mahmūd, and made him amīr. This year I was in Amid.

At the end of 536 Sharaf al-Dīn Ḥabashī went to Mosul with a letter for the atābeg and the amīrs who went with him returned. In 534 Ḥabashī had seized al-Mu'ayyid Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Mukhtar and imprisoned him until this year. After Ḥabashī had become estab- (f.170a) lished in Mosul, al-Sa'īd Ḥusām al-Dīn released Abu'l-Ḥasan, appointed him to (f.122b) the dīwān al-istifā' and gave back all (administrative) responsibilities to him. In this year he seized al-Ajall Abu'l-Wafā b. al-Saratān. Having been imprisoned for a (f.170a) while, he was thrown from the citadel down to the rabad of Mārdīn.

It is reported that Ḥabashī planted the idea in the atābeg's mind that he should seize Mayyāfāriqīn for himself. So in 537 he went and attacked the province of Amir Ya'qūb, taking possession of Khīzān, al-Ma'dan, Arzan, Qatalbas and all his territory. This year I was (f.170a) in Mosul for two months. Then in 538 he went and attacked this area, arriving at Tall Bashmī where the troops made camp. A few nights later, Mu'ammil al-Shāqasī and Muḥammad b. Abi'l-Mukārim entered Ḥabashī's tent and struck him down with their swords. They took his head and went outside, whereupon there was a clamour (f.123a) and the people were in uproar. The atābeg woke up, left early in the morning (f.170c)

and returned to his own country.

It is reported that on Sunday, 19 Muharram (5)39 Amir Dā'ūd (f.170e) died in Hānī. He was carried away in his bier which passed (through Mayyāfāriqīn) on the Monday and was placed in the Muhaddatha mosque. After the people and Qur'anic readers had come out of the city to visit it, he was taken the next morning to Hīsn Kaifā. His son, (f.170t) Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan, ruled Hīsn Kaifā, Khartabirt and his other possessions after him. Another son of his, Arslan Toghmīsh, took possession of the citadel of Mīzgard. The atābeg, setting out for his own territory, went and took Hānī, Jabal Jūr, al-Sīwān, Dhu'l-Qarnain, Arqanīn, Charmūk and all that area and (so) the atābeg and Husām (f.170b) al-Dīn quarrelled.

In 537 Arslan Toghmīsh married Hadiyya Khatun, (f.123b) the daughter of al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn, and she was taken to Mīzgard. (f.170b) Atabeg Zangī set out for Edessa. Having laid siege to the city for a while, he took it by force in (f.123b) the holy month of Rajab, which was 23 Kānūn I. The Franks had held the city for 47 years since the year 442. Then Zangī withdrew from it and attacked al-Bīra. Some days later the news reached him that Nasīr al-Dīn, governor of Mosul, had been killed by his ghulāms on 8 Dhu'l-Qa'da (f.170b) (5)39. Zangī therefore went down to Mosul, organised its affairs and put Zain al-Dīn 'Alī b. Beg-Tegin in charge of it. He was kind to the inhabitants and treated the town justly. The people have received every kindness from him until now.

In Rajab Qadi 'Alam al-Dīn Abu'l-Fath b. Nubāta had been summoned (f.124a) from Mayyāfāriqīn to Mārdīn, for Majd al-Dīn Dā'ūd (f.170

b. al-Sadīd had been dismissed from the post of qādī of Mārdīn. (f.170r)
 Al-Mu'ayyid Abu'l-Hasan b. Mukhtar al-Mustaufī had engineered that.
 Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Tāhir was appointed khatīb of Mayyāfāriqīn deputising
 for his uncle 'Alam al-Dīn and after two days he was appointed
khatīb of Mārdīn too. Amir Ibrāhīm b. Munqidh, the Egyptian, had (f.171r)
 come to Mārdīn to work for al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn and he was made
 vizier two days after the appointment of 'Alam al-Dīn, with the
 Baghdad muhadhdhib 'Abdallāh Muhammad al-'Irāqī as his deputy. He
 used to say that he was from the Mu'wajj family in Baghdad and he (f.171r)
 was a scribe in the mashhad of Mārdīn.

Al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn (f.124b) at the beginning of his rule had
 transferred Najm al-Dīn ʾil-Ghāzī and Shams al-Daula from the Masjid al-
Amīr to the citadel of Mārdīn. There was in the citadel a turba for
 them in which were buried a group of people who had died at the time
 of ʾil-Ghāzī. They were buried here for a short time and then he (f.171r)
 built at 'Ain Bāqīrā a mashhad and a turba on which he expended a
 great deal of money. He transported them there and established a
waqf on the building.

In (5)40 the Egyptian vizier was imprisoned. Whilst in prison (f.171r)
 he got hold of pieces of material made of rough cotton and succeeded
 in escaping from the citadel of Mārdīn and took flight. The
 following morning the people were in an uproar and horsemen went in
 search of him. They caught up with him on the mountain-side and
 he was brought back to al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn who released him.

It is reported that in 540 al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn inflicted a (f.171r)

defeat on Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan at (f.125a) Bāghīn. It was a (f.171) memorable day and the victory was won by Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad b. Ayaz. In 540 Shaikh Sulaimān the 'Alid came from Is'ird to Mayyāfāriqīn. The inhabitants and the amīr with his entourage went out to meet him, for he possessed indescribable knowledge. He stayed with Tāj al-Dīn and when the amīr went in to see him he sat in the mosque and preached. It was a memorable day. The people were captivated by him and he rose to the highest position with the amīr. He moved to the house of Khwaja Lu'lu' and his status became such that if the amīr went to Mārdīn he would go with him, he lived (f.171) wherever the amīr lived, and if the amīr went in to see him, he would not stand up for him. He acquired considerable fame and respect, (f.171) (f.125b) exercising total control over the amīr. Then he changed his way of life, took servants and began to act in a way which was inappropriate for the likes of him. Having gone down in the people's estimation he went off to Syria, where he remained for a while. He (f.171) returned to the amīr and stayed for a time before going to Is'ird where he remained a while, until the month of Rabi' (I) (5)46. As he was going into the mosque to perform the Friday prayer, two men attacked him. One of them hit him with a sword he was holding in his hand while the other jumped on him striking him with a knife. (f.171) He fell down, the people were in an uproar and he was carried away. His assailants were arrested. They were Ismā'īlīs. After his death, may God be pleased with him, he was buried in the Khidr mosque in Is'ird and his two murderers were killed.

In 540 al-Mālik Najm al-Dīn became joined in marriage to the khatun, the daughter (f.126a) of Qutb al-Dīn Ahmad b. Sukmān. She (f.171)

was the uterine sister of the Shāh-i Arman and the daughter of his paternal uncle. Sa'fī al-Dīn b. Rashīq, Athīr al-Dīn 'Abbād and a group of state dignitaries from Akhlāt arrived in Mayyāfāriqīn where they stayed a few days before going on to Mārdīn, where they met Najm al-Dīn. The matter was arranged and they returned home where they stayed until 541 when Qadi 'Alam al-Dīn and a group of state dignitaries went to Akhlāt and fetched the khatun. The state dignitaries from Akhlāt came with her and the wedding took place in Mārdīn. (f.171t)

In this year al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn began the building of the Qarāmān bridge on the Qaisūn under the supervision of al-Zāhid Abu'l-Hasan 'Alī who established its foundations on both sides. Then floods came and destroyed it because of his inadequate craftsmanship. A fine was imposed on al-Zāhid and his place was taken by Saif al-Dīn (f.126b) Shīrbārīk Maudūd b. 'Alī b. Artuq. He began the work of building it under the supervision of Abu'l-Khair b. al-Hakīm al-Fāsūl (?). He worked on it until 548 and only a small part remained unfinished. (?) (f.171t)

In 541 Atabeg Zangī attacked Qal'at Ja'bar, which was held by Saif al-Daula 'Alī b. Mālik. He pressed the siege with vigour and the citadel was on the verge of being conquered. He arrested Jamāl al-Dīn, the son of al-Sa'īd, who was in his service, and imprisoned him in the camp. I asked Qadi Kamāl al-Dīn Abū 'Abdallāh Muhammad b. al-Shahrazūrī about the killing of the atabeg and what happened. He said: 'After we had laid siege to the citadel for a while, Hassān al-Manbijī went out one day and said: "I want Amir 'Alī to speak to me". When 'Alī appeared in front of him on (f.171t) (f.172t)

the walls, he said to him:- "You know what friendship exists (f.172a) between us and you (f.127a) know the atābeg and what he is like. You have no back to lean on. You must surrender; if not, he will take the citadel by the sword with undesirable consequences. After such an eventuality what fate can you expect?" 'Alī replied: "O Hassān! I am expecting what you expected at Manbij when Amir Balak was besieging it, and God took care of him for you." Kamāl al-Dīn continued:- "And by God, hardly had half of that night passed when the town-crier shouted to us from the citadel that the atābeg had been killed. That day was Wednesday 9 Rabī' II (5)41. People shouted and clamoured. It had come about because a slave had been spending the night with Zangī in his tent and when he was asleep he killed him. Taking the knife with the blood on it he went up to the rabad of the citadel and shouted to the people "I have killed the atābeg." When they did not believe him, he showed them the knife and other effects which he had taken from him, and they took him up to the citadel (f.127b) and called out the news. The people in great confusion and disagreement got up and came to me. (f.172

I said "We must find the malik." So I rode off and when Malik Alp Arslan b. Maḥmūd had come out I said: "What was Zangī (anyway)? We all belong to the sultan." Jamāl al-Dīn was released and taken to his father. When the camp of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Mustaufī was plundered, he fled to me and I hid him in the house of a friend of (f.172 mine. Then the 'askar divided into two factions. Salāh al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Yaghī-Siyanī took Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Atabeg (Zangī) and the Syrian 'askar, set off for Syria and took Aleppo. As for us, we took the malik to Mosul with our 'askar. When we arrived at

Sinjār the malik ran away and went to the Jazīra but Tāj al-Dīn . (f.172a)
 Abū Tāhir Yahya b. al-Shahrazūrī, may God have mercy on him, and
 ‘Izz al-Dīn Abū Bakr al-Dubaisī caught up with him, made promises
 to him and brought him back to the camp before going down to Mosul.
 Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī (f.128a) b. Atabeg (Zangī) came from Shahrazūr
 which had been given to him as an iqṭā’ and took possession of
 Mosul. It is said that he killed the malik. He took the whole of
 Diyār Rabī’a and he gave the Jazīra to al-Dubaisī as an iqṭā’.
 Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī put Zain al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Bek-Tegin and ‘Izz al-Dīn
 al-Dubaisī in charge. He appointed as vizier Jamāl al-Dīn al-
 Mustaufī Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Isfahānī. The affairs of Nūr al-Dīn (f.172b)
 were taken care of by Salāḥ al-Dīn and his eldest son and by Asad
 al-Dīn Shīrkūh and Majd al-Dīn Abū Bakr b. al-Dāya whom he (Nūr
 al-Dīn) made governor of Aleppo.

It is reported that after the murder of the atābeg the people
 of Edessa rose up and killed a number of Muslims. They took
 possession of the city and sent messengers summoning the Franks.
 A group of Muslims decided together to get the city back.

When ‘Izz al-Dīn al-Dubaisī and Ḥassān al-Manbijī had arrived
 the people rallied together and the city was conquered. All its (f.172b)
 inhabitants were plundered and a number of people there were killed.
 When the news of the murder of the atābeg arrived (f.128b) al-Sa‘īd
 Ḥusām al-Dīn was in Mayyāfāriqīn. He immediately rode out of his (f.172b)
 citadel garden and making for Ḥanī he attacked it and conquered it
 on Wednesday 23 Rabī’ II (5)41. Thereafter he took Jabal Jūr, al-
 Sīwān and Dhu’l-Qarnain before going down to seize Shabakhtān, al-
 Muwazzar, Tall Mauzan, Jamālīn and Rā’s ‘Ain al-Khābūr. He then (f.172b)
 returned home. This year I was in Mārdīn and Dunaisir. Fakhr

al-Dīn Qara Arslan went and took Arqanīn, Charmūk and all the area which the atābeg had taken after (the death of) Amir Dā'ūd. He also seized on that side Arūq, Qatalbas, the town of Sāf, the citadel of al-Haithum, Is'ird, Bahmard, Tanzī and Bātāsā. The lord of Akhlāt went down and took Khīzān, al-Ma'dan, Irūn and all the province of Amir Ya'qūb. (f.172b)

In 542 (f.129a) al-Sa'id Husām al-Dīn and Saif al-Dīn Ghāzī quarrelled and Saif al-Dīn plundered the town of Mārdīn taking from it a great many slaves and plundering a great part of it. He then encamped in the plain of Mārdīn. I was in Āmid. Then peace was established between them and Saif al-Dīn married Zumurrud Khatun, daughter of the amīr. Shaikh Abū Sa'd b. 'Asrūn came to Mayyāfāriqīn and drew up the marriage contract for 20,000 dīnārs. With him was Amir Ibrāhīm al-Bahmardī and a group of people from Mosul. (f.172, f.173, f.174)

In this year Saif al-Dīn, having arrested Qadi Kamāl al-Dīn b. al-Shahrazūrī and his brother Tāj al-Dīn from the Jazīra, appointed Najm al-Dīn Abū 'Alī b. Bahā' al-Dīn qādī of Mosul and al-Daquqī qādī of the Jazīra. (f.173, f.174)

In 542 the amīr issued copper coins after I had gone to al-Ma'dan to fetch the copper (f.129b). In (5)42 Arslan Togmīsh b. Dā'ūd died, leaving as issue from the daughter of the amīr a son who survived him for a few days before he too died. (f.174)

In (5)43 al-Sa'id Husām al-Dīn went and camped before Is'ird and took possession of it. He also seized Bātāsā. Jamāl al-Dīn, lord of Āmid, and Ibn Nīsān had recognised him as overlord. The (f.172)

city remained his for a while, then he returned it to Fakhr al-Dīn. (f.172b)
When Fakhr al-Dīn conquered the citadel of Mīzgard, Hadiyya Khatun
returned to her father.

In Sha'bān 'Izz al-Daula b. Nīsān came to Mayyāfāriqīn and (f.174a)
concluded a marriage contract for 50,000 dīnārs between Safiyya Khatun,
daughter of the amīr, and Jamāl al-Dīn, lord of Āmid. He took her
away during the last five days of Sha'bān and brought her to Āmid. (f.174

This year Tāj al-Dīn, may God have mercy on him, had gone to (f.174
the Hijāz and Bahā' al-Dīn Abū Tāhir took over as qādī (f.130a)
deputising for him.

In (5)43 Diyā'al-Dīn Ayyūb came and concluded a marriage (f.174a)
contract between Naura Khatun, daughter of al-Sa'id Husām al-Dīn,
and Fakhr al-Dīn Daulat-Shāh b. Toghan Arslan, lord of Arzan and
Bitlīs. This man had assumed power in succession to his brother
Yāqūt Arslan. When Daulat-Shāh's brother Husām al-Daula Qurtī
died in (5)38, his place was taken by his brother Yāqūt Arslan who
remained in power until (5)40. Yāqūt Arslan sent his brother
Daulat Shāh into the service of Atabeg (Zangī) when the latter
passed through to seize the territories of Amir Dā'ūd after Dā'ūd's (f.174
death. Yāqūt Arslan died on a Saturday, at the beginning of
Ramadān (5)40. Diyā' al-Dīn Ayyūb, who was the stepfather of
Daulat-Shāh, went to the camp of the atābeg and brought Daulat-Shāh
back to Arzan. The latter passed by Mayyāfāriqīn and proceeded
to take possession of Arzan and all the territory that had belonged
to his father and his brother (f.130b). He (then) transferred his (f.174
allegiance to al-Sa'id Husām al-Dīn. Daulat-Shāh remained in power

until Dhu'l-Hijja of the year --3, when Bahā' al-Dīn Sevinch b. (Kuhmīsh) came and took the city of Arzan. After he had gone there it remained in his possession for a while.

In this year the khatun, lady of Akhlāt, the daughter of 'Izz (f.172b) al-Dīn Saltuq, arrived in Hīṣn Kaifā on her way to perform the hajj, and she stayed with Fakhr al-Dīn, who treated her well. (Thereupon) Bahā' al-Dīn Aus b. Abī Ma'ādh came to Mayyāfāriqīn, accompanied (f.173a by Athīr al-Dīn 'Abbād and 'Alam al-Dīn b. Ṭabar, the qādī of Arjīsh. Bahā' al-Dīn stayed in the house of al-Mu'ayyid al-Mustaufī. Fakhr al-Dīn sent the khatun back to Akhlāt and made it impossible for her to go to the Hījāz. Bahā' al-Dīn and everyone else went (f.173a home again.

In 542 al-Mu'ayyid Abu'l-Hasan al-Mubārak b. Mukhtar al-Mustaufī, who had been in control of the dīwān, had died in Mārdīn. (f.173a His brothers Samsām al-Dīn and Shīrbārīk had arrived with some state officials and were lodged in the house of the family of Sukmān where they stayed a few days.

I was in Mosul (f.131a) when Atabeg Ghāzī died and was buried (f.174b in the 'Imādiyya mosque in Mosul.

In Ṣafar 544 Qutb al-Dīn Maudūd b. Zangī took over as amīr and his position was made secure through the good offices of Zain al-Dīn and al-Dubaisī and the vizier Jamāl al-Dīn. Four days after the (f.174b death of Ghāzī, Kamāl al-Dīn and Tāj al-Dīn, the sons of al-Shahrazūrī, were set free having been confined to their houses with guards at their doors. When the atabeg had arrested them, he had imprisoned them in the citadel of Mosul, but after a messenger had arrived from the caliph to deal with their case, they were allowed to go to their homes. The situation had remained thus until the day (f.174b

in question when they were summoned to the maidān to the door of the (f.174b palace of the atābegs. They entered, having changed (f.131b) their clothes - for they had ridden without tarḥas. When they had entered the maidān and approached Atabeg Qutb al-Dīn they dismounted, and he dismounted for them. After he had embraced him they complained to him about his brother and congratulated him on becoming amīr. He got on his horse while they mounted theirs, and they positioned themselves on each side of him. I was present in the maidān that day.

After a while, they got in contact with al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn (f.174) and settled with him the matter of the khatun and her marriage to Qutb al-Dīn Maudūd. It was fixed on the basis that the city of Dārā should be the dowry and Qutb al-Dīn became joined in marriage to her, after the completion of her period of mourning, and he (f.174) consummated the marriage with her. He attacked Dārā and conquered it on 12 Dhu'l-Hijja (5)44. At that point I was in the camp. He appointed the chamberlain Yūnus al-Dunaisirī to rule Dārā.

In this year the sons of Tāj al-Dīn quarrelled and Diyā' al- (f.174) Dīn b. Nubāta went to the camp in Dārā (f.132a) and took over as qādī before returning as governor to Mayyāfāriqīn. In 544 Qutb al- (f.174) Dīn, the son of the lord Najm al-Dīn, was born, may God perpetuate their shadows.

In 544 news came that the Franks had taken Almeria from the (f.174) Muslims. All their possessions had been plundered and sold in (f.175) Syria and the Sāhil.

In 545 Samsām al-Dīn married the daughter of the atābeg and he came to Mosul in 546. At the time of the marriage I was in Mosul. (f.175) In Muharram of 545 the Bedouin plundered the hajj and many people (f.175)

were killed. Something like that had not been heard of for years (f.175a) and only a small number of people escaped alive. I was (then) living in Mosul.

Al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn with his sons assumed control over all (f.175a) the rulers of Diyār Bakr, Diyār Rabī'a and Armenia and all amīrs in these areas who were subordinate to them. (f.132b) After Atabeg Zangī (had died), no independent amīr ruling his own area remained without being challenged and opposed and without doing exactly what he was told.

In Muharram 545 Nūr al-Dīn joined battle with the Franks and (f.175a) took prisoner the son of Joscelin, whose entire territory he seized. Husām al-Dīn took Sumaisāt on 6 Rabī'I 545 and al-Bīra in 546, Nūr al-Dīn seized Tall Bāshir and its environs and a great deal of (f.175a) territory whilst Fakhr al-Dīn Qara Arslan took Hisn Mansūr and Bābalū, seizing also the citadel of Gargar from the Armenians and (f.175b) Sultan Qilīch Arslan took Mar'ash and Kaisūn and its environs. (f.175c) Thereafter not a single place remained on the Euphrates which did not belong to the Muslims, other than Qal'at al-Rūm which if al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn had lived (f.133a) he would have taken too. (f.175c)

In 547 Jalāl al-Mulūk b. Badr al-Daula married Hadiyya (f.175d) Khatun. Saif al-Dīn Mahmūd b. Dā'ūd also married her and took her via Mayyāfāriqīn to the province of Tanzī and the town of Tall Fāfān and al-Qarshiyya where she is still with him today.

In 546 al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn circumcised the sons of Jamāl al- (f.175e) Dīn. He received an edict entitling him to the land. The robe of (f.175e) honour arrived (from the caliph) and the edict was read in the mosque to the assembled people. After two nights, on the night of Monday (f.175e)

22 Rabī' I 547, the mosque collapsed and the minbar area and the (f.175a)
arcades fell down. The rest of the building was pulled down and
the foundation of the dome-chamber was dug. Work on it began from
the end of 547.

This year I was living in Baghdad and I saw Sultan (f.133b) (f.175a)
Mas'ūd before he went to Hamadhān where he died as we have already
related.

Sultan Mas'ūd was of tractable disposition and easy-going (f.175b)
temperament. There was no other sultan like him (in this respect).
Ibn Palang-Eri conquered all his territory and it came under his
sway. Mas'ūd killed some of the great amīrs whom no-one else had
managed to defeat; he killed al-Mustarshid, al-Rāshid, Dubais, Boz-Aba,
'Abbās, Qaracha al-Sāqī, Mengü-Bars, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Toghan Yürek, and
the number of high-ranking amīrs and commanders and governors of the
provinces he killed is known precisely. He killed 'Izz al-Mulk, the
khwāja-yi buzurg Amir Tatār, the chamberlain. He was intrepid and (f.175b)
he led an unprecedently fortunate life. When he died he left three
small sons.

It is reported that in 544 Safiyya Khatun died in Āmid. (f.176a)

In (f.134a) 545 al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn appointed as vizier Zain (f.176a)
al-Dīn As'ad b. 'Abd al-Khāliq, the brother of al-Mu'ayyid who had
been the vizier of al-Bursuqī and who had also become vizier of the
sultan. He confirmed al-Mu'ayyid and al-Muhadhdhib in their posts in
the dīwān, appointing as deputy a scribe with the laqab of al-Shihāb,
who is now working in the dīwān of the lord of Arzan. Zain al-Dīn (f.176a)
remained established as vizier until 546. Al-Sa'īd Husām al-Dīn (f.176a)
went out to Āmid, attacked it, oppressed it and handed it out as an
iqṭā'. He reclaimed from the people of Āmid the marriage settlement

of the khatun, his daughter. He remained on the Hauw bridge for (f.176a
 a while before going to Tall al-'Alawiyya. Messages went backwards (f.176a
 and forwards between them and he seized the harvest that year.)
 Then Ibn Nīsān settled the matter and the amīr withdrew.

Ibn Nīsān plotted to send people to kill the vizier Zain al- (f.176a
 Dīn in Mārdīn. (f.134b) It happened as follows. He had ridden
 out one day to the citadel of Fajāz (?) and was in a narrow place
 when two men attacked him. One of them had an axe with which he
 struck him on the head, so that he fell. The people who were with
 him went after the killer and his accomplice. One (of them) said:
 "What do you want? We will go up to the amīr and tell him that we
 killed the vizier." When they reached the citadel, they said to the
 commander: "Tell the amīr that we killed the vizier". They were
 taken to the citadel with the people following behind them. The two
 men went into the amīr and said: "We have killed the vizier". So
 he said: "Why?" They said: "We were ordered to do it." It is said
 that Ibn Nīsān plotted and sent people to kill him. The amīr gave
 orders concerning the two of them and they were killed on the grave (f.176a
 of the vizier, who was buried in the rabad at Mārdīn.

Husām al-Dīn resumed his attacks on Āmid and harassed it. (f.176a
 The vizier (f.135a) Bahā' al-Dīn Aus, the vizier of Akhlāt, came and
 discussed the government of Āmid, talked to him and interceded on
 behalf of the inhabitants. Then the vizier went into Āmid and met
 Mu'ayyid al-Dīn b. Nīsān and settled the matter with him. Ibn Nīsān
 went out to see the amīr and peace terms were agreed. The people of
 Āmid went out to pay their respects to him and acknowledged his
 suzerainty. Mu'ayyid al-Dīn went out to him (alone) the first time (f.176a
 and then returned to Āmid. The next morning the amīr went out

accompanied by the khatun and his sons and the sons of the ra'is.

Their authority became established and the amir withdrew from them. (f.176a)

In the last ten days of Rajab Naura Khatun, the wife of the (f.176a)
lord of Arzan, died, leaving a son who survived her for a while
before he too died. She was buried in Arzan. The amir was deeply
attached to her.

After the killing of Zain al-Dīn, the amir remained (f.135b) (f.176a)
without a vizier, making do with al-Ajall Mu'ayyid al-Daula Karīm
al-Mulk who served him better than anyone else had done. He remained
amir until Thursday 2 Dhu'l-Qa'da 548 when he died in Mārdīn, may
God have mercy on him and be pleased with him. He was buried in the
mashhad. His illness lasted only from Saturday. There was a remission
from Monday to Thursday but then he died. His rule had lasted (f.176a)
thirty years.

He was, may God have mercy on him, a learned, just amir, well- (f.176b)
versed in all branches of knowledge. He liked the people of religion
and the best practitioners of all crafts. He was kind, generous,
intelligent - and hospitable to an extent unknown even amongst the
Bedouin. Amir Abū Bakr, lord of Nasībīn, sought him out and joined
him after fleeing from Atabeg Zangī. Husām al-Dīn gave him asylum and
would not surrender him. The atabeg demanded his surrender and there
was a serious quarrel between them on his account, in consequence of
which the atabeg took Dārā. But although Husām al-Dīn lost (f.136a)
a great deal, he would not surrender him. This man was the reason
for the cooling of relations between the two of them. After Abū Bakr (f.176b)
had left Husām al-Dīn he went to Sultan Mas'ūd, to whom the atabeg
sent someone demanding that he be given up. Mas'ūd handed him

over, (and) he was taken to the atābeg, who killed him.

(f.176b)

Husām al-Dīn, may God be pleased with him, used to show regard for the members of the Prophet's family and look after their affairs and he did not contemplate the extirpation of an ancient family. Numerous members of the Prophet's family from the whole territory used to seek him out and he would treat them kindly, make them gifts, furnish them with hospitality and arrange for them to stay in his service. He took care of the qādīs and jurists and if he was convinced that a man possessed special knowledge he would bring him into his company, make him draw near, give him presents and ask him about what knowledge or craft he had. (f.176b)

When he died, I was in the territory of the Georgians in the service of King Dīmītrī, the King of the Georgians. One day we were (f.136b) in his territory near Darband when he summoned me and said: "I have just heard that your master, Husām al-Dīn, has died". That was on 4 Muḥarram 549, may God have mercy on him and be pleased with him. (f.176b)

[illegible]

وَمَلَأْنَا جُوزَهُ بِالنَّاسِ شَحْاحًا وَجَمَعَ خَاصَمًا وَغَوَاةً أَوْ دَبَابًا مَدَّ وَخُفْرَةً وَدَخَلَ
 إِلَى الصُّورِ وَلَجَدَهَا وَفِيهَا مَلِكٌ لَا تَأْكُلُ مِنْ شَيْءٍ طَعْنًا وَبَنِي نَاسِجٍ وَزُرْصِيهَا
 الَّذِي يُوسَعِبَانِ بِالْعَمْرِ تَوْبَى لَا تَأْكُلُ مِنْ شَيْءٍ وَحَصَلَ فِي حَامِيَةٍ رَضَتْ بِذَلِكَ السَّنَةِ مَا
 شَمْسُ الدَّوْلَةِ لِأَحَدٍ فَتَبَيَّنَ فِي سَنَةِ ثَلَاثِينَ لِمُخْتَصِمِ الدِّينِ بِنَفْسٍ مِنْ بَنِي حَمْدَانَ
 فَتَقَفْنَا وَكَانَ قَدْ وَقَعَ الْخَلْفَ بِنِيسْبِ خَاصَمِ الدِّينِ بِمَا لَمْ يَكُنْ مَعَ الْأَمْرِ خَاصَمِ
 الدِّينِ فَحَدَّ وَالْأَمْرَ أَوْ دَعَا عَلَى بَابِ لَيْدٍ وَشَارُوا قُلُوبًا كَوْنًا جُوزًا بِالْقُرْبَى وَالسُّبُورِ
 وَخَازَنَ مِنْ بَنِي عَمْرِو بْنِ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ بْنِ تَوْفَلٍ لَمَّا لَا تَأْكُلُ مِنَ الشَّيْءِ حَتَّى تَمُوتَ الدِّينَ وَتَمُوتَ
 كَلَامُ الرَّسُولِ فِي خَدْمَةِ الْبَلَدِ أَوْ دَعَا فِي سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَعِشْرِينَ بِهَذَا الْأَمْرِ أَوْ دَعَا بِفَضْلِ بْنِ
 كَامِلٍ فِيهِ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَهَذَا لِلنَّاسِ حَيْثُ لَوْ غَزَاهُ لَفَرَجَ مَا بَعَثَ الْكُفْرَ وَالْبَغْيَ فِي بَنِي عَمْرِو بْنِ
 الْأَمْرِ خَاصَمِ الدِّينِ وَتَبَيَّنَ عَلَى مَا دَلَّنَا بِهِ وَكَانَ هَذَا الْأَمْرَ مِنْ شَرِّ الْأُمُورِ عَسَى أَنْ يَكُونَ
 بِنِيسْبِ الدِّينِ لَيْدٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَخَمْسِينَ مَائَةٍ وَمَلَّ الشَّيْءُ حَتَّى تَمُوتَ الدِّينَ
 إِلَى بَنِي عَمْرِو بْنِ حَمْدَانَ حَيْثُ رَغِبَ فِي خَاصَمِ الدِّينِ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَهَذَا الْأَمْرَ وَتَبَيَّنَ
 يَا هَلِيًّا وَتَبَيَّنَ النَّاسُ فِي سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَخَمْسِينَ مَائَةٍ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَهَذَا الْأَمْرَ وَتَبَيَّنَ
 الْحَيْفَ وَالْفَهْرَ وَتَبَيَّنَ النَّاسُ فِي سَنَةِ ثَمَانٍ وَخَمْسِينَ مَائَةٍ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَهَذَا الْأَمْرَ وَتَبَيَّنَ
 الْمُؤَيَّدُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدٍ مَوْلِيًا قَامَ مِنْ بَنِي حَمْدَانَ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَهَذَا الْأَمْرَ وَتَبَيَّنَ
 الْعَبِيدُ بِمَا طَاهَرُوا مِنَ الْحَيْفِ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَهَذَا الْأَمْرَ وَتَبَيَّنَ
 شَدَّ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ
 بِنِيسْبِ بْنِ تَابِلٍ بِأَمْرِ بَنِي عَمْرِو بْنِ حَمْدَانَ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ
 بِالْمَلْعَةِ وَخَازَنًا تَابِلًا بِأَمْرِ بَنِي عَمْرِو بْنِ حَمْدَانَ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ
 وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ
 قَبْلَ دِيْنِ ثَمَانٍ عَشْرًا وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ
 ابْنُ بَنِي عَمْرِو بْنِ حَمْدَانَ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ وَتَبَيَّنَ لَعَاكُمُ
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نت السعيد حسام الدين وحملت الله الى مريدك وجل

انابك نكي وقصد الوها و طاصها من ثم فتحها عنون²

شهر الله اذهب ومان بالبحر عشره نورا الاول وكان

بدا الفرج من سنة اربع واربعمائة واربعمائة واربعمائة

وارفع سبته ثم رجع عنها وقصد البيرة فوصله الخمر بعد

امام مقتل مصر الدر فالى الموصل وكان قبله علمائه

في تاريخ القعد سنة تسع و مئتين و ثمان و عشرين

و فرجها و دنتها زير اللدین علی بن محمد حسن

الانسان وعمل في البلاد ورأى الناس منه حلجس الى الان

وهو شهر رجب سنة ١٢٢٢

الى صلاح الدين لما تقرر ذلك استدعى السلطان باني اموالهم
يعملوا لانهم كانوا يوزعون في اقاليمه فسلّم اليه السلطان ولزم
الارسلان والخصاص ووقع لهما بالبلاد وساروا الى الموصل
وفيها في اوائل سنة اربع مائة وعشرين ومائة جمع السلطان
في سنة ثلاث وعشرين مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة
ولم يجمع المملوك في سنة اربع مائة وعشرين مائة مائة مائة مائة
باني اصفهان ودمشق واول اخوانهم في السلطنة في سنة
اربع مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة
ودفع عند ابيها اليه ووصل بعد ذلك اخوانه المملوك طغرل
في سنة خمس مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة مائة

Index of names on the map of Syria and the Jazīra

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Akhlāṭ	Cilicia
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Ani	Daqūqa
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Tūr 'Abdīn

Tyre

Vān

I N D E X

Introductory comments

The index provided with this thesis is more detailed than the indices of most books on Islamic subjects and the quantity of cross-referencing may seem excessive. The sole aim of this procedure, however, has been to make information in the text more easily traceable. Moreover, Ibn al-Azraq frequently refers to the same person under several names -- kunya, laqab, ism, or parts and combinations of any of these, and apparently assumes that his readers will easily identify the person in question. When a full name has been broken up in this way its constituent parts are separately indexed and cross-referenced. This system admittedly produces certain anomalies: thus Şadaqa, the father of Dubais, occurs in the index as a separate name although in the text proper he appears only as part of the name of his son. The result of including such entries is that the index is more detailed than might be expected but the system not only helps the reader to track down information quickly but also links the text to the commentary where many of the names recur under several forms. The wealth of names in the text itself makes an index desirable but it is doubly valuable in view of the muddled chronology of Ibn al-Azraq. A detailed index of proper names to some extent compensates for this deficiency. Finally, the extension of the index to Ms. B facilitates detailed comparisons between the two texts.

The cross-references allow a person to be traced via his ism or his laqab. Either may be used as the basis of the main entry in the index, but the principle is that a person is recorded under the name that is most often used. In cases of doubt the father's name is added to the ism or laqab in the index entry. When a genealogy, complete

with titles, is given at length in the index it is in order to enable the reader to trace the person in question more easily. Ibn al-Azraq frequently gives names in shorthand form and only on subsequent (often much later) occasions does he give the name in full; e.g. the name Tāj al-Dīn Abū Sālim Ṭāhir b. Nubāta first appears in full as late as f. 174a.

Names spelt variously within the same manuscript are given a single "standard" form in the index. Some inconsistencies may therefore be detected between the form of a name in the index and a given occurrence in the text. This is particularly likely to happen over the introduction or omission of ibn in a name. Where the text itself is inconsistent in this matter the more common form of the name appears in the index. But where Mss. A and B give different versions of a name, as distinct from several versions in one text alone, both versions have customarily been indexed. As a result the same person may appear under two headings in the index. Where one Ms. gives the full name and the other only a component of that name, the name is indexed only once, with as many cross-references as seem necessary.

Names which span two pages, or two folios, occur in the index under both pages or folios.

In general, where a person is known by his office, that office is given after his name in the index entry. However, where the text refers to a person by his office only and not by any element of his name (e.g. "the sultan") these references do not appear in the index. Nisbas are usually recorded separately and cross-referenced.

For purposes of alphabetical order, al- as the first element of a name should be ignored. Where it appears elsewhere in a name, e.g. Abu'l-Ḥasan, it is however subject to strict alphabetical order.

Mayyāfāriqīn does not appear in the index as it is by far the commonest of the proper names in the text.

Where references occur in brackets, the names in question have been incorporated into the translation for the sake of clarity. They do not occur in the Arabic text.

The system employed in the index requires a word of explanation. References to Ms. A are cited first in the form of the page of the translation on which they occur. An oblique stroke divides the reference to the translation from the reference to the original text. Thus 35/167b means that the name occurs on page 35 of the translation and f. 167b of the text. Three dots precede references to Ms. B. Where an entry begins with three dots, the name in question occurs in that form only in Ms. B.

Since the index was prepared for use long before final typing, its page references to the translation are not those of the pagination in the thesis itself. To obviate this difficulty, the previous pagination will be found in the lower right-hand corner of the page in Chapter VI and Appendix C.

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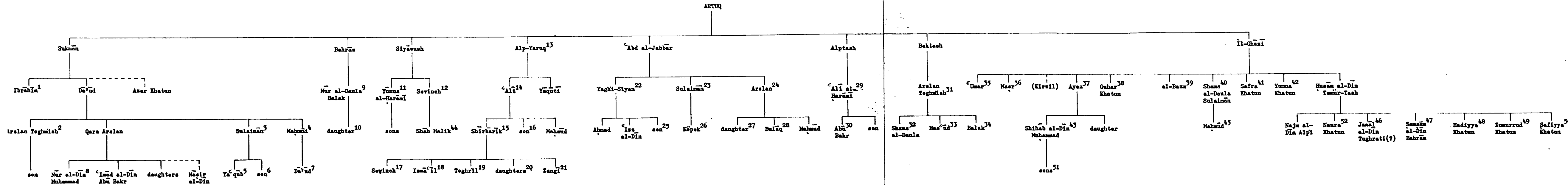
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KEY: ——— attested by Ibn al-Asraq
 () not mentioned by Ibn al-Asraq
 - - - - - genealogy more doubtful



